

# ON ROMANISM

JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, S.T.D.

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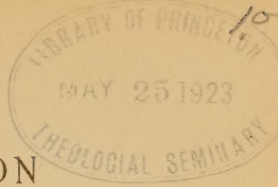




ARTICLES ON ROMANISM.







ARTICLES ON

*B. B. Warfield*

# ROMANISM

*Princeton  
N. J.*

MONSIGNOR CAPEL

DR. LITTLEDALE

BY THE REVEREND

John Henry Hopkins, S.T.D.

NEW YORK

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## Preface.

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Friendly requests from others have occasioned this reprint. At first I thought it would be best to eliminate the personal and more transient elements of the two articles on Monsignor Capel, but found it impracticable, and they are therefore reproduced unchanged. Two editions of the first Article appeared in pamphlet form. To the second of the two no rejoinder was ever made, to my knowledge.

The lamented decease of Dr. Littledale, after quarter of a century of suffering health, borne with heroic cheerfulness and continuous literary labor, took place only a few months after the appearance of this article on his *Petrine Claims*,—a work which furnishes a noble climax to his splendid literary service in the cause of Catholic Truth.

J. H. HOPKINS.

*New York*, March, 1890.



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## MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

ANYBODY who reads Monsignor Capel's little treatise on the word "CATHOLIC" as "*An Essential and Exclusive Attribute of the True Church*," hoping to find therein anything very new or interesting, will be disappointed. Never was so large a newspaper notoriety raised on a smaller capital of theology or real controversial skill. And if memory is correct, Monsignor's chief triumphs have been won in drawing-room campaigns with notables of society having more money than brains, rather than in conflicts with theologians and scholars. And this publication tells us the reason why.\*

Monsignor has been complimented for the *amiability* of this attack upon us. And in his *Preface* he gives us a taste of his quality. He quotes from S. Cyprian the following (which can have no appropriateness unless it be meant to describe *our* position): "Whoever parts company with the Church and *joins himself with an adulteress*, is estranged from the promises of the Church. He who leaves the Church of

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\* *Catholic: An Essential and Exclusive Attribute of the True Church*. By Right Rev. Monsignor CAPEL, D.D., Domestic Prelate of His Holiness, Leo XIII., happily reigning; Member of the Roman Congregation of the Segnatura, Priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. New York: Wilcox & O'Donnell & Co., 1884.

CHRIST attains not CHRIST's rewards. He is an *alien*, an *outcast*, an *enemy*. He can no longer have God for a Father who has not the Church for a Mother." And immediately after thus (impliedly) telling us that we are *not* the children of GOD, but are aliens, outcasts, enemies, and joined to an adulteress, he wipes his mouth with benevolent serenity, and amiably adds: "*Calm, honest investigation of the matter cannot be other than an olive branch of peace, leading prayerful, earnest souls into the Ark of Salvation.*" That sort of amiability, we can assure Monsignor, is far more amusing than impressive, and we shall find plenty more of the same sort before we get through.

One of the drollest bits of shallowness in the whole *brochure* is his reprinting, at the end, three extracts from the Fathers—S. Cyprian's treatise on *The Unity of the Church*, one of the Catechetical Instructions of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and a letter of S. Pacian. His reason for this is thus stated: "It is thought these treatises, of a dogmatic nature, representing Africa, Asia Minor [*is Jerusalem in "Asia Minor?"*], Western Europe, and emanating from Saint Bishops of the 'Undivided Church,' will prove to be voices to which a deaf ear will not be turned. The Oxford translations have for obvious reasons been selected." Now here is richness! Those three patristic treatises are reprinted confessedly from translations made and published by Anglican Churchmen, nearly half a century ago;—treatises, every word of which is accepted by Anglican Churchmen;—treatises in which there is *not one syllable* of the modern Papal theory! And studying *these*—with which we have been perfectly



familiar time out of mind—is to make us swallow modern Romanism, including the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Infallibility of the Pope as defined by the Vatican Council of 1870! But we beg pardon, we have not enumerated *all* his authorities. He also adds,—the only thing reprinted besides those three Fathers,—what do you think? An extract, not from another Saint, or from a decree of a Council, or from a bull of a Pope, or even from any divine of well-known character, but, for all the world, from—Lord Macaulay! Monsignor gives us the famous passage in which the future New Zealander is imagined as standing “on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of S. Paul’s.” And the study of this specimen of glittering rhetoric (in the course of which Macaulay says, of the Church of Rome, that “among the contrivances which have been devised for *deceiving* and *oppressing* mankind, it occupies *the highest place*”), the study of *this* is to make up for what is lacking in S. Cyprian, S. Cyril and S. Pacian, and convert *us* into modern Ultramontane Romanists! Really, is Monsignor himself an idiot? Or does he only take for granted, with his usual amiability, that *we* are all idiots?

But we have not yet done with this wonderful *Preface*. The extract from S. Cyprian, which is intended to show *us* the dangers of *our* assumed separation from the Church, includes the phrase: “Break a branch from the tree, once broken *it can bud no more*; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up.” On the same page he says, that “The

Protestant Episcopal Church" in the United States was "created in the year 1789." On page 67 he says, more correctly, that our Church "is *daughter* of the Church established by law in England." Parents do not usually "*create*" their "daughters." But the drollery comes in when we contemplate this "daughter" as a proof that the Church of England is "a branch broken from the tree," for that "once broken *it can bud no more.*" A "bud" which, in less than a century after its first organization, numbers an Episcopate of sixty-eight, shows that the power of "*budding*," at any rate, still remains. Nor is this all; for within the same period, the Colonial Episcopate of the English Church has grown from *nothing* to more than *seventy*. And the Home Episcopate has also been increased, in England, to say nothing of beneficial changes in Ireland and Scotland; while the wonderful revival of the Church, in principles and in practice, during the past half century, with the marvelous increase of devotion, earnestness and zeal, and the free expenditure of millions on churches, Church charities, and Church schools, all taken together, forms a total that can be exceeded nowhere in the history of the Church for fifteen hundred years past. To face this astonishing growth with the assertion that, being "once broken, it *can bud no more*;" that being cut off from its fountain, its "remnant" is "*dried up*:" this is probably the most characteristic exercise of Monsignor's logical power, and the most splendidly ludicrous! But we shall find others like it.

The *Preface* is only two pages long, and we have not done with it yet. The chief effort of Monsignor,

in his whole work, is to demolish what is known as *The Branch Theory*. According to modern Roman doctrine, there is only one Branch, and that is Peter's; or rather Peter's Branch is, in itself and by itself, the *entire Vine*. Take, for instance, his title, "‘CATHOLIC :’ *An Essential and Exclusive Attribute of the True Church,*" and add the words, "*in all its Branches,*" and it would express our doctrine exactly. Now the amusing thing is, that so thoroughly does our Branch theory pervade all Christian Antiquity, that Monsignor can hardly make a quotation that does not go against himself. Every time he opens his mouth, "he puts his foot in it." That same fatal extract from S. Cyprian, which has brought him to grief already in other ways, contradicts him point blank on his main issue. It thus begins :

The Church is likewise one, though she be spread abroad, and multiplies with the increase of her progeny ; even as the sun has rays many, yet one light ; and the tree *boughs many*, yet its strength is one seated in the deep-lodged root ; . . . she stretches forth *her branches* over the universal earth, in the riches of plenty, etc.

Here is the *Branch* theory, word and thing. It is exactly the doctrine *we* hold and teach on that subject. S. Cyprian slaps Monsignor in the face with it before he has quoted three lines ! And yet Monsignor quotes it to *us*, to induce *us* to abandon that very Branch theory which it embodies ! We suppose that it is only his "amiability" once more at its old tricks !

To pass now from the *Preface* to the body of the work, it may be best to take up the very point upon

which we have just touched. Our teaching is based upon the words of our LORD Himself, when He said : "I am the Vine, *ye* are the branches." Here *all* the Apostles, equally, are styled *branches*. Judas was amongst them. He was a branch which did not "abide" in the Vine, and was on the point of being broken off ; yet when the words were spoken, he was a branch. The Roman theory would be correctly expressed, if our LORD had said : "I am the Vine, and *Peter* is the only Branch." Again, our LORD said : "Now ye are clean, through the word which I have spoken unto you." The Roman theory is, that to Peter only has been committed the Divine power of teaching the Church in all things that have to do with faith and morals. This would have been correctly expressed, had our Lord said : "Ye shall be clean, through the word which *Peter* shall speak unto you." Our Lord said : "He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit ; for without Me ye can do nothing." To express the modern Roman theory, He should have said : "He that abideth in *Peter*, and *Peter* in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit ; for without *Peter* ye can do nothing." Our Lord said : "If a man abide not in Me he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered." To convey the modern Roman gloss, He should have said : "If a man abide not *in Peter*, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered." These changed phrases would, we say, correctly express the modern Roman theory ; yet our Lord never said anything of the sort. And even if He had uttered the changed phrases, it would remain to be proved that when He said

"Peter," He meant "the Pope of Rome;" and *that* could never be proved so long as the world turns round.

Now this modern Roman theory is so totally at variance with Scripture and antiquity, that Monsignor is perpetually cutting his own throat, with a happy unconsciousness that is irresistibly amusing. To point out all the cases of this would be too tedious. We will only give a few as samples.

He quotes S. Paul: \* "God indeed hath set some in the Church—first, *Apostles*; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers," etc. According to the modern Roman theory, He should have said, "*first, the Pope*; secondly, Bishops," etc. It is inconceivable that any modern Romanist should enumerate the officers in the Body of CHRIST, and *omit the Pope altogether!* Yet here S. Paul puts "Apostles" first—precisely in accordance with the Anglican theory,—all Bishops being on an equality.

Again, he quotes S. Paul, enumerating the several parts of the organism: "And some he gave to be *Apostles*, and some prophets, and others evangelists, and others pastors and teachers." Here we have the same old Anglican doctrine again, in all its purity. "Apostles"—in the plural—are first, and there is not a word about any Pope of Rome. Monsignor continues:

He specifies the purpose for which the power is conferred: 1. 'For the perfecting of the saints'; 2. 'for the work of the ministry'; 3. 'for the edifying (*i.e.*, building up) of the *Body* of

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\* Monsignor uses his own version of Holy Scripture. We quote from him.



CHRIST.' And this is to be continued 'till we all meet in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the SON of GOD, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of CHRIST,' in order that we may not be 'Children tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine, in the wickedness of men, in craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive.'

All this is pure Anglican doctrine. It shows that all these objects, "the perfecting of the saints," the "work of the ministry," the "edifying of the Body of CHRIST," till we all come to "the perfect man," may be secured by having "Apostles" at our head, and without one single special function reserved to the Pope of Rome.

Again (after some digression concerning Peter as the Rock, to which we shall return presently), Monsignor, speaking of the Twelve, says:

To these teachers [mark the plural number throughout] did JESUS, before ascending to Heaven, make known the whole of that doctrine which He had received of His Father, and in doing this He *completed* and *closed* the Revelation made to man. He made the Apostles participators in His power of signs and wonders; co-operators with Him in pardoning sin by Baptism, and the sacrament of reconciliation; to them He imparted the power to consecrate: 'Do this in commemoration of Me.' And as the Father had sent Him, so did He send them to preach His Gospel. This '*Ecclesia Docens*,' or Teaching Body, was thus fitted with Divine powers for the Ministry of the Gospel, and was duly commissioned by Divine authority to 'go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

Now this is good, solid Anglican doctrine throughout—every word of it! It speaks of the *Apostles collectively*. It does *not* speak a syllable concerning the Pope of Rome as the "Vicar of CHRIST."

When Monsignor treats of the office and work of the HOLY GHOST, he is equally sound, and runs on for some seven pages with pure Anglican doctrine, showing that CHRIST made the promise to the Apostles [plural throughout], of the Comforter who was to abide with *them*, be in *them*, teach *them*, etc., and that on the day of Pentecost the cloven tongues sat upon *each* of them, and they were *all* filled with the HOLY GHOST. As to the power of mission,—“how can they preach unless they be sent?”—the Monsignor gives the correct Anglican answer:

As the Father sent the Son to preach the Gospel, so did the Son send the *Apostles*; *they* in turn sent others, bishops and priests and deacons, commissioned with *the same Divine authority* to preach and fulfill the Ministry. Accordingly S. John, speaking of himself and other pastors, could say: “We are of GOD; he that knoweth GOD heareth *us*; he that is not of GOD heareth not *us*; in this we know the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of error.”

There is not, in all this, a single lisp of the modern Roman doctrine, which would require: “He that knoweth GOD heareth the Pope of Rome; he that is not of GOD heareth not the Pope; in *this* we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error.” With equal fidelity to Anglican doctrine, and with an equal ignoring of the Roman, Monsignor adds: “And *the Apostles*, acting in their *corporate capacity*, could proclaim their decrees in the name of *themselves* and of the HOLY GHOST.” This is pure Anglicanism. How does it agree with the Vatican decree of 1870?—which says *not one word* about the Apostles in their corporate capacity, but reads thus:

We teach and define that it is a dogma Divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex Cathedra*, that is, when discharging the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his Supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Church Universal, by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if any one—which GOD avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.

There is nothing like *this* in all Monsignor's little book. He pours out page after page of pure Anglicanism, apparently unconscious that he is sawing off the limb betwixt himself and the tree all the while—demolishing effectually the very principles on which modern Romanism is compelled to depend. As to ordination, he does not make its validity dependent upon the Pope at all. He says:

The 'imposition of hands' is the Sacrament of Orders, and in common with the other Sacraments, its effect is conferred *direct* by GOD. For this reason, could S. Paul write to Timothy: 'I admonish thee that thou stir up the grace of GOD which is in thee by the *imposition of hands*.' But the 'Commission,' or 'being sent,' is derived direct from *the Apostles*. It specifies where, how, and when the Divine authority is to be exercised by the individual pastor. 'For this cause,' writes S. Paul to Titus, '*I* left thee at Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst ordain priests in every city, as *I* also appointed thee.' These two powers are distinguished as the power of Order, the power of Jurisdiction. Both are of GOD: the one comes direct through the Sacrament of Orders; the other indirectly from GOD through the Church by

appointment. In the early Church they were often conferred simultaneously; still they were looked upon as distinct operations. . . . The first coming directly from CHRIST is abiding, unchangeable, and is conferred in equal measure on each priest or bishop. The second not coming immediately, but through the Church from CHRIST to individuals, is conveyed in varying proportions, as may be deemed expedient for the good of souls. In the instances mentioned above, Timothy and Titus had neither more nor less of Episcopal character than had any of the Apostles; as Bishops they were equal. But the Apostles had universal jurisdiction directly from CHRIST. Timothy and Titus received their commission from the Apostles, etc.

Now all this is pure Anglican doctrine. There is not a syllable of Romanism in it. So again, as to teaching and the power to decide controversies, Monsignor covers our ground with perfect accuracy. In the controversy which caused the meeting of the first Apostolic Council, he does not pretend that Peter alone summoned that council, and formulated its decree. He says correctly, "The Apostles and ancients came together to consider of this matter." And as to the result, it was not Peter who set forth his decree "irreformable by the Church;" but the decision ran in the name of them all: "It hath seemed good to the HOLY GHOST *and to us.*" And this was done, "not by wisdom of the Apostles, but by the influence of the HOLY GHOST, whom they declared to be *with them.* And so it has ever been." All this is Anglicanism pure and simple. And we could quote whole pages of it besides, until our readers should be weary.

But here and there—as if stuck on from the outside, with a pin—Monsignor inserts phrases implying the

modern Roman doctrine, though never stopping for a moment even to attempt to harmonize them with the Anglican doctrine which fills so much of his Part I., and the *whole* of his Part II. (always excepting Macaulay). He reminds us of a description we once heard, of a man who had a brain separated into non-communicating departments by water-tight bulk-heads. Tap him in one place, you get pure Anglicanism ; tap him in another place, you get pure Romanism. It would be an easy and rather comical way of trying to make Monsignor's work homogeneous, if some one would re-edit his little pamphlet, pulling out the pins, and taking off the queer patches of popery, throwing the parts about the English Church and our own into the waste-basket, and dropping Lord Macaulay from the tail of the work. Its Part I. and Part II. would then be in perfect harmony. The new edition might be entitled : "Anglicanism and Primitive Catholicity identical ; being extracts from the pamphlet of Monsignor Capel and from three of the Ancient Fathers selected by him."

But Monsignor does not seem to be troubled in the least by his radical inconsistencies of statement. He goes on as smilingly and as unconcernedly as if his propositions were not mutually destructive. In one place, for instance, he is speaking of the present holders of High Church teaching among us, and says of them, "*Many* of whom are now *validly baptized*." The reference is to some few cranks who are supposed to have been rebaptized by members of the Corporate Reunion or some such organization, which is a secret society, and of its acts or even its existence

*nothing* is certainly known. The innuendo is, that these alone, of all the Anglican Communion, are validly baptized. Now the doctrine of the Roman Church is, that any Baptism is valid which is given with water (even one drop will suffice), in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, and with the intention to do what the Church does, though the baptizer be a layman, a woman, a schismatic, a heretic, or even a Jew. And yet—by sly innuendo—Monsignor would create the impression that only a few persons among the many millions of Anglicans are “validly baptized.” While in another place (p. 88), in his closing appeal to us to join the Church of Rome, he says : “*She is the Church of your Baptism*, to whom you owe allegiance and obedience ; for the *saving waters of regeneration* are the portal to but one Church. They made you not members of Protestantism, but children of the Church of God.” This presupposes *all* our Baptisms to be *valid* ! Which of the two does our amiable Monsignor really mean ?

Again, speaking of Orders, he says that “its effect is conferred direct by GOD :” “it comes *directly from CHRIST*,” “is *abiding, unchangeable*, and is conferred in equal measure on each priest or bishop.” And in another place he says (p. 69) : “*Admit the validity of the Orders*, whence does the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States derive its *mission* and jurisdiction ?” this mission being the very thing which he had previously declared to be given “direct by GOD,” and to be “*abiding, unchangeable*, and conferred in equal measure on each priest or bishop.”



Does he suppose that a thing which is given "direct by GOD" Himself is null and void unless subsequently *endorsed* by the Pope?

Once more, speaking of the condition of souls in our communion, he has contradictions quite as glaring. In the quotation which he flings at us from S. Cyprian in the *Preface*, he tells us that we are "aliens, outcasts, enemies, joined to an adulteress, and no longer having GOD for a Father." But on p. 9, speaking of those of us who claim to be true Catholics, he says: "They are in *simple, honest faith*; they act with *good conscience*, and accordingly they receive *of GOD grace and joy and peace*." A queer way, this, of being "joined to an adulteress!" What *does* the Monsignor *mean*?

But let us now examine a little the privilege claimed for S. Peter:

Of the Twelve, Simon, who is called Peter, was chosen to be the Rock on which the Church was to be built; to him exclusively was [*sic*] given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; he received *separately* and in its *plenitude* that power of binding and loosing which subsequently was given to the Twelve collectively; he was selected specially to be the confirmer of the faith of all his brethren; and to him alone was given the fullness of authority to feed the lambs and the sheep—the whole flock of CHRIST. Thus was the unalterable constitution of the Church formed. All teaching power was in JESUS CHRIST, the Head, who imparted it to the Apostolic College, reserving special offices to Peter, the visible head.

To discuss fully all these points would take—as it has often taken—volumes. In a mere review we can only touch them briefly. But first of all we must premise that Holy Scripture itself gives us strong

antecedent ground for believing that any such sovereignty on the part of any one of the Twelve, is *expressly forbidden*. When the Disciples, again and again, disputed among themselves which of them should be the greatest, our LORD *never* answered them that He had appointed Peter as their head, and that they must all render to *him* absolute and unquestioning obedience. He expressly, and repeatedly, and pointedly, says the exact opposite. The command is not given to the laity, that *they* shall not call any one father or master on earth ; for S. Paul and S. John expressly write to their people as their “children,” and S. Paul tells them that they “have not many fathers,” for *he* has, “begotten them in the LORD.” But the prohibition is given to the *Apostles*, that *they* should not recognize any one as father or master, except their Father and Master in Heaven. When James and John requested places on His right hand and on His left, in His Kingdom, He did *not* reply that He had already given the first place to S. Peter. He says that the appointment to such an office “is *not Mine to give* ;” so it is *impossible* that He should already have given that office to S. Peter at Cæsarea Philippi. Moreover, He expressly adds to the Twelve :

Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But *it shall not be so among you*.

Again, at the Last Supper we read :

And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest. And He said unto them :

The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them ; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But *ye* shall *not* be so ; but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger ; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. . . . Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations. And I appoint *unto you* [not “unto Peter”] a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me; that *ye* may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom, and sit *on thrones* judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

This does not look like the threefold “*adoration*” that is given to the Pope on his election—first on the spot where he stands at the time ; secondly, in the Sistine Chapel ; and, thirdly, after they have *seated* him upon the High Altar in S. Peter’s Church itself. Having an ALMIGHTY HEAD in Heaven and the abiding of the HOLY SPIRIT on earth, the Apostolic Body does not need a “Visible Head” at Rome. The *Twelve* will sit on *twelve* thrones. They are all *equal*.

But to return to Monsignor’s attempt to make out the contrary, let us examine, point by point, what is said of S. Peter :

“To him exclusively,” he says, “was given [the promise of] the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.” Adding the three words in brackets, this is correct. But what is meant by it? Some identify it with the power of binding and loosing, and many patristic names might be quoted in favor of that opinion. But it seems better to give it a specific meaning, which will apply to S. Peter alone, as the promise was made to him alone. One key S. Peter used on the day of Pentecost in opening the door of the Kingdom of Heaven to Jews from all parts of the world. *His* was the great sermon, at the hearing of which they

were pricked at the heart, and three thousand were baptized into the Church at once. The other key (they are invariably represented as *two* keys, though there is nothing in the words of the promise to limit them to that number) S. Peter used in opening the door of the Kingdom of Heaven to the Gentiles. This he did by the special command of the HOLY SPIRIT, and he himself lays distinct stress upon it in the opening of his speech at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem: "Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago GOD *made choice* among us that the Gentiles, by *my* mouth, should hear the word of the Gospel and believe." These two openings, granted specially to S. Peter, and shared by none else, fulfill the special promise abundantly. And it is easy to see that this promise of personal prerogative did not imply any permanent office in the Church. The act of *opening*, once performed, does not need to be repeated, any more than a man needs to be born afresh every day of his life. To be born once will do for a lifetime. And the act of opening clearly did not imply any permanent sovereignty over both Jews and Gentiles; for S. Paul says: "The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed *unto me*, as the gospel of the circumcision was *unto Peter*." So that S. Peter had oversight only over part, and that was the part which was speedily to become the smaller, and eventually to disappear almost altogether; while S. Paul had the larger part, and that which was by and bye to become almost the whole of the visible Church. Moreover, S. Paul attributes this division to GOD himself: "for He that wrought effectually in Peter

to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles." And, as might be expected, this work of the SPIRIT was approved by the other Apostles then at Jerusalem, *including S. Peter himself*: "And when James, *Cephas*, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen and they unto the circumcision." This shows S. Peter and S. Paul to be precisely on the same level of authority and rule in the Church. The "opening" signified by the Keys, therefore, clearly did *not* mean a sovereign authority continuing even during S. Peter's own earthly ministry. It has about as much to do, then, with the Pope of Rome, as it has with the Man in the Moon.

Next as to the binding and loosing. Monsignor says that S. Peter "received *separately* and in its *plenitude* that power of binding and loosing which subsequently was given to the Twelve *collectively*." This is not correct. S. Peter did not *receive* that power separately *at all*. He was the first to receive the *promise* of that power. But that power *was not then given*. Our LORD's Words are in the *future tense*. The promise of the Keys was in the future; and the other promise follows *after that*, and all the verbs in the sentence are in the *future*: "And whatsoever thou *shalt bind* on earth *shall be* bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou *shalt loose* on earth *shall be* loosed in heaven." This, therefore, is only the *promise*, not the conveyance of the gift. But when the gift was actually *given*, it was not given to S. Peter first, or

separately, or in its plenitude ; but to them *all collectively* : “ He breathed on *them*, and saith unto *them*, ‘Receive *ye* the HOLY GHOST ; whosoever sins *ye* remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins *ye* retain, they are retained.’ ” Here the words are in the *present tense*, not the future, and actually convey what the former words only promised, but did *not* then convey, to S. Peter. The fiction, then, that he received *separately* and in its *plenitude* that which he manifestly received only *collectively* along with all the rest, is entirely exploded. There is not one word of substance in it. And, anyhow, it is a logical contradiction in terms. If the Twelve had the power *collectively*, how could S. Peter have it “ *separately* and in its *plenitude* ? ” If the rest of the Twelve decided one way, and S. Peter “ *separately* ” and in his “ *plenitude* ” decided the other way, which decision would stand ? When S. Paul withstood S. Peter to the face, which of the two actually *yielded* ? No ; Monsignor is right in saying that the power “ was given to the Twelve *collectively*. ” That is the Scriptural doctrine. That is the doctrine of the Fathers. That is the Anglican doctrine. And it renders the “ *separate* ” and “ *plenitude* ” business logically impossible.

But S. Peter, we are told, “ was selected specially to be the confirmer of the faith of all his brethren.” That little word “ *all* ” is an addition by Monsignor. But let us look at the original passage, in S. Luke : \*

And the Lord said, ‘ Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat ; but I have

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\* S. Luke, xxii. 31.



prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.' And he said unto him: 'LORD, I am ready to go with Thee, both into prison, and to death.' And he said: 'I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest Me.'

Now all this is so clearly tied together, that it must be taken together. Satan desired to sift all the Apostles. Why then did our LORD pray specially for Simon? Clearly because he needed it most, as being the most presumptuous, self-confident and boastful. This is the more evident from the fact that, notwithstanding the benefit of the special prayers of his LORD, and His special and solemn warnings, Peter fell to a lower depth than any of the rest, except Judas Iscariot. Now are we to conclude that the Popes of Rome are so presumptuous, self-confident, and boastful that they are in danger of denying their LORD with oaths and curses? If not, what are they to be *converted from*? for, be it noted, the strengthening the brethren was not to be possible to S. Peter, until *after* he was *converted*: "When *thou* art *converted*, strengthen thy brethren." If the Popes of Rome need no "conversion," then *they* can have no part in "strengthening the brethren." In fact, this text is so weak a support of Roman claims that it never was used in that sense until the year 1621, when the famous Bellarmine, in the paucity of other texts of any use, pressed this one into the service for the first time.\*

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\*I am indebted to a friend for the information that this statement is erroneous. It was based on an authority which I supposed to be correct. The text referred to was explained

It was not wise. He would have done better to let it alone. And yet there *is* a sense in which it might well apply to Rome. No Branch of the Apostolic Church has fallen so low as Rome, in respect to her many corruptions, tyrannies, scandals, and separations among Christians. If she has not denied the Master herself, she has caused countless thousands to lose their faith in Him, and to become apostates. Now if she will only be "converted" from her usurpations of power, her additions to the Faith, and her innumerable practical corruptions, the reunion of all Christendom will at once become not only possible, but certain; and the "brethren" will be "strengthened" by this most desirable conversion quite as much as they have been scandalized for a thousand years past by the *need* of it.

But to pass on: Monsignor tells us of S. Peter that "to him alone was given the fulness of authority to feed the lambs and the sheep—the whole flock of CHRIST." Here again there is no authority for the exclusive word "*alone*." There is *no* equivalent for it in the Scriptural narrative. The simple meaning of that most touching incident is the restoration of S. Peter to that full Apostleship from which he had practically fallen by his threefold denial. The other ten Apostles, though they forsook Him and fled, yet

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in the Roman sense for some hundreds of years before the time of Bellarmine, a fact which makes no difference in the argument. I leave the statement unaltered above, because I do not wish to *suppress* any mistake I may have made. It is more honest to acknowledge and correct the fault, than to appear to wish to *conceal* the fact that it was made. The same reason applies to the correction given in a note on page 45.

had *not* denied Him even once—not to say twice, and thrice, and with cursing and swearing. The threefold declaration of love was drawn from Peter, and the threefold charge given, *restoring* him to the position which the rest of the Apostles continued to hold all along. The proof of this is to be found in the very word on which our Roman friends rely to prove the contrary—the use of the word ποιμαίνω. True, the first time and the third time, the LORD uses the word βόσκει, which signifies to *give food*, without any admixture of the ideas of guiding, ruling, or governing; ideas which *are* found with the other word, so that the Kings of the Greeks, in Homer, are frequently styled ποιμένες λαῶν—*Shepherds of the Peoples*. From the simple use of this word alone, Roman ingenuity blows up the glittering soap-bubble of “fulness of authority” over “the whole flock of CHRIST.” But S. Paul, when, at Miletus, he took h’s tender farewell of the elders of the Church of Ephesus, said to them: “Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the HOLY GHOST hath made you overseers, to *feed* the Church of GOD, which He hath purchased with His own blood.” Here this word “*feed*” is, in the Greek, exactly the same word ποιμαίνω, on which such wonderful stress is laid in the other place. Why not give it the same interpretation here? Then *all* the “Elders of Ephesus” were *Popes*, “to whom *alone* was given the fulness of authority to feed the whole flock.” Indeed, S. Paul expressly tells them that the HOLY GHOST had made them overseers to “*all* the flock,” which is more than the LORD said to S. Peter himself!

But if S. Paul did not understand the correct use of language, surely that very S. Peter to whom that word was addressed, *could* not have applied it wrongly. In his first Epistle\* he is exhorting the Elders—the same Order to whom S. Paul spoke at Miletus, those whom we now call Priests or Presbyters. And he says: “The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of CHRIST, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed. *Feed* the flock of GOD which is among you,” etc. Here the word he uses for “*feed*” is exactly that same word, ποιμαίνω, which our LORD had used to *him*. So that S. Paul and S. Peter both testify that the word expresses simply that cure of souls which is proper to every parish priest. The Papacy cannot be built up out of it any more than we can logically say: “John Smith is a parish priest; *therefore* he is the Emperor of all the World.”

Only one point of S. Peter’s Privilege is left. Our Monsignor tells us—in the usual Roman phrase—“Peter was chosen to be *the Rock* on which the Church was to be built.” This text, “*Tu es Petrus,*” etc., is inscribed in large letters running round the root of the dome on the inside of St. Peter’s Church, in Rome. And by a very happy but undesigned symbolism, that inscription was not cut on the *foundation* of the building, or anywhere near it; but is hung up, more than an hundred and fifty feet high in the air, where it never could be kept aloft for an instant but for the masses of human masonry with which it is bolstered

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\* Chapter v. 1, 2.

up from below. And even so—if rumor be correct—it is showing signs of beginning to crack.

But to go to the interpretation. The word *Rock* is never used in Holy Scripture as a title of any but GOD Himself, or of those who were esteemed as gods. In the Old Testament it is thus used *thirty-five* times. *Not once* is it used as a title in any other way. In the New Testament it is expressly used of CHRIST: “They drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was CHRIST.” How would it do to try the Roman change *here*, and read: “They drank of that Spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was *Peter*?” And yet this change is not one whit more at variance with the whole strain of Scripture than the other; and it is only the fact that the strangeness of it has been worn off, by so many ages of controversy, which prevents the one from being as instantaneously repugnant to Christian instinct as the other.

In the countless discussions of this text which have come before the Church, there has been an omission of one point which is worthy of special prominence, namely: that the *Stone* as well as the *Rock* is systematically used in connection with S. Peter’s Master; the word *Stone* denoting His *human* Nature, and the word *Rock*, as we have already shown, His *Divine* Nature. It was *this last* which Peter had just confessed in its fulness and clearness. It was *this* which made his confession of such startling importance. And it was to emphasize *this* that our LORD’s promises were then and there made to him. That Deity of the Son of GOD has been the touchstone of

orthodoxy all through the controversies of the ages. That Rock is the Rock of Ages. The wise man builds his house upon that Rock, and the rains and the floods and the winds can never make it fall. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid." Is *that* foundation *S. Peter*?

But in order to obtain a clearer view, let us combine the various suggestions of Holy Scripture concerning that holy Temple of GOD. It is founded upon the Rock of Ages,—which is the Deity of CHRIST. "Upon *this Rock* I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." This agrees perfectly with S. Paul's words: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST." But we also find the word "foundation" used in another sense; not as the solid Rock on which the whole building stands, but as the first portion of the Wall itself which is built upon that Rock. It is in this sense that we read of the Church as "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the head corner-stone." From this we see that not only is it impossible that Peter can be the Rock of Ages, which is CHRIST our GOD; but he is not even distinguished specially as the entire foundation *wall* resting on that Rock. "The Apostles and Prophets" are *all* embodied in that wall. And here we would call special attention to the place occupied in it by CHRIST *as Man*. As GOD, He is the Rock on which *all* rests. As *Man*, He is the *Corner-stone*, or "Head-stone of the corner." And now, if we will look back carefully, we shall find that in prophecies and deep sayings concerning



our LORD's work, the word *Stone* is as constantly and consistently used to mean His *Humanity*, as the word *Rock* is to signify *Deity*. Thus in Daniel's prophecy of the "*Stone cut out without hands*," the word "*stone*" signifies—not the Deity of CHRIST; for the stone grew till it "became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." This cannot refer to CHRIST's Deity, for that being infinite from all Eternity is capable neither of increase nor diminution. But it must mean His *Humanity*, for it is in this that He is the Head of His Church, which has grown, and shall continue to grow, until it fills the whole earth. So also in the Prophet Zechariah:\* "Upon one stone shall be seven eyes," which foreshows the sevenfold intelligence of the HOLY SPIRIT abiding upon the *Son of Man*. Then that most remarkable prophecy of the Psalmist, quoted and enforced by our LORD Himself:† "Did ye never read in the Scriptures, The *stone* which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner; this is the LORD's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes? . . . Whosoever shall fall on this *stone* shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder." Now, when, in all Scripture, none is ever honored with the title of *Rock* except GOD, and the humanity even of the LORD CHRIST Himself is called by the inferior title of *Stone*, how can any one reasonably contend that *Peter* has received the *Divine* title? Must the humanity of CHRIST Himself be ranked *lower* in dig-

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\* Chapter iii. 9.

† S. Matthew xxi. 42.

nity than the Apostle who denied Him with oaths and curses—who was on one occasion a “*Satan*” unto Him? Impossible!

There is one text in Isaiah which, with its quotation in the New Testament, includes both these terms—*Rock* and *Stone*—in one and the same sentence: “Sanctify the LORD of hosts Himself; and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread. And He shall be for a sanctuary; but for a *Stone* of stumbling and for a *Rock* of offence to both the houses of Israel.” Now of all the writers of the New Testament, who should it be but S. Peter himself who quotes this text in such a way as to show that *he* knows who the *Stone* is, and who is the *Rock*:

... if so be ye have tasted that the LORD is gracious. To whom coming, as unto a living *stone*, disallowed, indeed, of men, but chosen of GOD, and precious, ye also, as living *stones*, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to GOD by JESUS CHRIST. Wherefore, also, it is contained in the Scripture, Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner *stone*, elect, precious, and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded. Unto you, therefore, which believe, He is precious; but unto them which be disobedient, the *stone* which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a *stone* of stumbling, and a *rock* of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient.

Now when we consider the rejection of our LORD by the Jews, we find that the order here given was actually followed with perfect accuracy. *First*, they stumbled at the things concerning His Humanity: He was, as they supposed, of Nazareth; the son of a carpenter; an unlearned man; one utterly averse to

the kind of secular kingdom which *they* identified with *their* idea of a MESSIAH. It was afterwards, and toward the end of His earthly ministry, that they took "offence" at the *Rock* of His *Deity*, which was not so plainly declared at the first; and when He "made Himself equal with GOD," they called Him a blasphemer, took up stones to cast at Him, and finally cried out "Crucify Him!" "Crucify Him!" Thus He was first a "*Stone*" of stumbling and afterwards a "*Rock*" of offence to both the houses of Israel. S. Peter, too, besides identifying both "*Stone*" and "*Rock*" with CHRIST, shows us how the term "*stone*" may be shared by others. For while CHRIST is "a living stone," a "chief corner-stone," "elect, precious," "the head of the corner": he tells the Christian believers, to whom he writes, that they also "as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." And, doubtless, there passed through his mind the signification of his own name *Peter*, which is, being interpreted, *A Stone*—that name which CHRIST had given him when He first saw him on the banks of the Jordan, where John was baptizing. For it is a mistake to suppose that the name Peter was *first given* on the occasion of that great confession at Cæsarea Philippi. In the opening chapter of S. John's Gospel we read, of S. Andrew:

He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the MESSIAS, which is, being interpreted, the CHRIST. And he brought him to JESUS. And when JESUS beheld him he said, Thou art Simon, the Son of Jona; thou shalt be called *Cephas*, which is, by interpretation, *A stone*.

This was more than *two years* before the confession

at Cæsarea Philippi. Doubtless, our LORD foreknew the future, and in His own mind selected Peter's new name with reference to that *Petra* which he would afterwards confess ; but there was no direct external connection between that confession and the giving of that name. Peter had been called by that name, more or less, ever since he first saw the LORD. His name is *repeated*,—" *Thou art Peter*,"—to show that the Lord had originally *given* him the name, *foreseeing* the confession of the *Petra* which he had just made. *Cephas* in Syriac and *Petros* in Greek both mean the same thing. Our LORD's own Humanity, therefore, is spoken of as a *Stone* ; and Peter is, by interpretation, a *Stone* ; and all true believers are *lively stones* in the celestial building. But nowhere in Holy Scripture are true believers spoken of as "*lively rocks*." *That* title belongs to GOD. The other belongs to the Humanity of CHRIST, and may also be given to those who are His members.

The great Foundation of Rock, then, is "the Son of the living GOD" whom Peter confessed. On that Rock was laid the foundation wall of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the chief corner-stone. And in the vision of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse we find a brilliantly beautiful illustration. In the twelve foundations of that city were the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb, and twelve precious stones are enumerated in connection with them. These are mystical numbers,—not arithmetical. Those foundations "were garnished with *all manner* of precious stones." Surely there are more than twelve kinds of jewels in the

world; yet *twelve only* are mentioned. We must also remember that when the "Apostles and Prophets" are said to be the foundation, it is also added "JESUS CHRIST Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom *all the building* fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple *in the LORD*." Now the "corner-stone" of the Twelve Foundations is, of course, the first to be mentioned. It is *Jasper*,—which is of the color of blood. And if we would know who is meant by this jasper, let us turn to the fourth chapter of the same wonderful book, where we read that "A throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne [Monsignor will hardly contend that *this* was S. Peter]. And He that sat was to look upon *like a Jasper* and a sardine stone." And so, besides the first foundation, we read that "the building of the *wall* of it was of *jasper*." So then we have the Son of the Living GOD as the Foundation of Eternal Rock; we have the Son of Man as corner-stone, as the entire wall and defence of His people, and reigning on the Throne of Heaven as their King. It will hardly do to take *all* this from our LORD and give it to S. Peter! And yet the Roman theory, to be consistent, would require it!

The voice of antiquity is as clearly against the Roman interpretation, as the analysis of Scripture itself. We cannot go fully into the matter here, for it would require a volume.\* The earlier Fathers

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\* See the admirable series of Articles on *The Petrine Claims* in the English *Church Quarterly Review*, to which we are not a little indebted, and which we hope soon to see reprinted in a volume. They utterly demolish the Roman position.

uniformly explain the *Rock* as being CHRIST our GOD, or the *confession* of, or the *faith* in, that same *Deity* of CHRIST: and even those who seem to interpret it of S. Peter, do it in such a way as to exclude all Roman inferences. For instance, S. Cyprian, in that Treatise on the Unity of the Church which Monsignor so kindly reprints, in our own translation, for our instruction, says, of S. Peter:

Upon him, being one, He builds His Church [this looks like the Roman interpretation; but he continues]: and though He gives to *all* the Apostles an *equal power* [that puts an end to the Romanism] and says: "*As My Father sent Me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to him, and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained;*" yet in order to manifest unity, He has, by His own authority, so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one. *Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honor and power; but a commencement is made from unity that the Church may be set before us as one.*

What wonderful amiability the Monsignor displays by reprinting such declarations as *this*, in the hope of thereby converting us to *the opposite*!

S. Augustine gives *exactly* the interpretation we have above embodied at large, and it is his latest and maturest judgment on the subject:

The rock is not from Peter, but Peter from the rock; just as CHRIST is not called from Christian, but Christian from CHRIST. Therefore it is that the LORD saith, "Upon this rock will I build My Church," because Peter had said, "Thou art the CHRIST, the Son of the living GOD." Upon this rock, this rock which thou hast confessed, I will build My Church. For *Christ was the rock*, on which foundation Peter himself was built. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is CHRIST JESUS.



What can be clearer than this? But perhaps Monsignor will be more easily converted by the words of a Pope of Rome, whom—at least since 1870—he is bound to believe infallible. Gregory the Great says:

The Son of GOD is the beginning. In this beginning the earth was founded, because the Church is founded on Him. Hence the Apostle saith, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, JESUS CHRIST." Hence He Himself, the Mediator of GOD and man, saith to the Prince of the Apostles, "Thou art Peter, upon this Rock I will build My Church." For *He is the Rock* from which Peter derived his name, and on which He said that He would build the Church.

Hoping that so clear a voice from so great a Pope will satisfy Monsignor of the truth of our interpretation, let us now look further, and see whether the Liturgies can shed any light on the subject.

The Liturgy of S. James speaks of "Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded on the *Rock of the Faith*, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it." No Romanism *there*: CHRIST is the Way, the *Truth*, and the Life. Nor is there any Romanism in another part of the same Liturgy, which speaks of "the glorious Zion, the *Mother of all the Churches*."

The Liturgy of S. Mark and the other liturgies afford *no* evidence in favor of the Roman theory, and some of them plain evidence to the contrary. Thus the Mozarabic Missal, though showing signs of later Roman manipulation, yet utters the primitive tone clearly. In the Collect for S. Peter's Chair, where we should expect—if anywhere—to find Roman leanings, the opening words are:—"O GOD, Son of GOD,

who didst exalt Peter *upon Thyself, the most solid Rock*, and upon Peter the Church," etc.

But as we wound up our brief extracts from the Fathers with a Pope, perhaps we shall prevail more readily with Monsignor, by closing our briefer liturgical extracts with one from that Roman Missal, with which he ought to be far more familiar than we are. In the collect for the Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, he will find words, which translated into English, run thus:

Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that Thou wouldst not suffer us, whom Thou hast established *upon the Rock of the Apostolic confession*, to be shaken by any disturbances.

This collect is evidently far older than the *modern* Roman theory. But if even a Pope, and the Roman Missal, fail to convince Monsignor, perhaps he may learn, from what he calls a General Council, approved by the Pope, that "the firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall not prevail," is neither S. Peter nor the Pope of Rome. The Council of Trent, in its decree upon the Symbol of the Faith [the Creed], says:

Wherefore, it [the Council] judged that the *symbol of the Faith*, which the Holy Roman Church uses, should be set forth in the full wording whereby it is read in all Churches, as that principle in which all who confess the Faith of Christ must needs agree, and as *the firm and only foundation, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*, which is of this sort: "I believe in one God," &c.

Now since it is abundantly clear that S. Peter is not the Nicene Creed, and the Nicene Creed is not S. Peter, Monsignor must give up his notion that

Peter is the foundation on which the whole Church is built. If he will not yield to Fathers or Liturgies, to Roman Pope, or Roman Missal, or even to the Council of Trent, we shall—with all due amiability—give him over as incorrigible.

But when our Monsignor comes to treat specially of the Church of England and our own Church in this country, he is—if possible—more contradictory and inconsequential than anywhere else. As for the royal supremacy—about which such a clatter is kept up—it is simply carrying out one precept of S. Peter himself, which his pretended successors have always been eager to forget; just as their entire Papal structure has been an elaborate rejection of his other plain command, *not* to be “as lords over GOD’s heritage.” S. Peter required those to whom he wrote, to “*submit . . . to the King as supreme.*” And the Church of England is a true follower of S. Peter,—name and thing. But there has *not* been any surrender, at any time, by the Church, of that *Divine* power and authority which CHRIST gave to His Church. When the Convocation acted in regard to the King’s Supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII., notwithstanding the utmost bullying on the part of that unscrupulous and tyrannical king, the Convocation recognized that headship only with the qualification *quantum per legem Christi licet*: “So far as is lawful by the law of CHRIST.” *That* was the action of *the Church* on the subject; and of course it is *totally ignored* by our amiable and candid Monsignor.

But even the action of the State was clear of the outrageous gloss which Roman controversialists have

constantly tried to force upon it. At the time of the passing of the Act declaring the King's Supremacy—as may be seen in so common a book as Froude's History—the King's Government drew up an explanatory document which shows the true scope and intent of the act. We commend the italicized passages to Monsignor's careful attention:

The King's Grace hath *no new authority* given hereby that he is recognized as supreme head of the Church of England; for in that recognition is included *only* that he have *such power as to a king of right appertaineth by the law of GOD*, and *not* that he should take any spiritual power from spiritual ministers that is given to them by the Gospel. So that these words that the King is Supreme Head of the Church, serve rather to declare and make open to the world that the King hath power to suppress all such extorted powers as well of the Bishop of Rome as of any other within this Realm whereby his subjects might be grieved; and to correct and remove all things whereby any unquietness might arise amongst the people; *rather than to prove that he should pretend thereby to take any powers from the successors of the Apostles that was given to them by God*. And forasmuch as in the former session of this Parliament, holden in the twenty-fifth year of this reign, whereby great exactions done to the King's subjects by a power from Rome was put away, and thereupon the promise was made that *nothing should be interpreted and expounded upon that statute, that the King's Grace, his nobles or subjects, intended to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the articles of the Catholic Faith, or anything declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary for his Grace's salvation and his subjects'*; it is *not*, therefore, meet lightly to think that *the self-same persons, continuing the self-same Parliament, would, in the next year following, make an act whereby the King, his nobles and subjects should so vary*. And *no man may with conscience judge that they did so*, except they can prove that the words of the statute whereby the King is recognized to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, should show

expressly that they *intended* to do so, as it is *apparent* that they do *not*.

This is unanswerably conclusive, and demonstrates that the outrageous construction put upon that action of Parliament by Monsignor has not a leg to stand on. Even in its most stringent form, that title of "Supreme Head" was qualified by the words "under GOD," or "under CHRIST," or "in earth," showing clearly the determination *not* to usurp or interfere with that which is of *Divine* authority in the structure of the Church; yet the Monsignor writes as if it *wholly superseded* the very thing thus *expressly excepted from its operation*.

As a specimen of the conscientious accuracy of Monsignor, he tells us that "Henry VIII. was voted Spiritual Head of the Church;" and that "the said headship was decreed to be perpetual in Elizabeth and her successors." Whereas the *truth* is, that no such title as "*Spiritual* Head" was ever conferred on any King or Queen of England by either Convocation or Parliament; and the "headship" was *not* "decreed to be perpetual in Elizabeth and her successors." So far from it, the title "Head" was repealed under Queen Mary, and was *deliberately dropped* under Elizabeth, and has never been reënacted by either Convocation or Parliament from that day to this! The Monsignor evidently agrees with the distinguished modern Ultramontane, who said that "to appeal to history *is treason!*" No thorough Romanist *can* appeal to history *honestly*.

Monsignor quotes from the Address of the Convocation of Canterbury to the Crown in 1854, to show

that it recognizes the royal supremacy in all causes ecclesiastical, and italicizes the words; but he calls no attention to the qualification immediately following: "*As it was maintained in ancient times, against the usurpation of the See of Rome, and was recovered and reasserted at the Reformation.*" This distinct assertion of the continuity of the Church, and of the limitation of the very idea of the royal supremacy to that which history shows to have been ancient in England, is—with his usual fairness and candor—*totally ignored* by our amiable Monsignor. But we suppose we must excuse him. *What else could he do?*—unless he were to throw up his case altogether!

That statement, however, of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1854, addressed to the Queen, is precisely equivalent to the language of Queen Elizabeth herself, declaring that she only claimed the power "which is, and *was of ancient time*, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, *under God*, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms . . . of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be: so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them."

And this language of Henry VIII. himself, of the Convocation alone, and of the Queen alone, is borne out by the express language of Article XXXVII., which was set forth by both Houses of Convocation, approved by the Crown, and made obligatory by Act of Parliament besides:

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some

slandrous folks to be offended : “ We give *not* to our Princes the ministering either of God’s Word or of the Sacraments ; the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth, our Queen, do most plainly testify ; but *that only* prerogative which we see to have been given always to *all Godly Princes in Holy Scriptures* by *God Himself*—that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by GOD, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.”

Nor is this to be found only in general statements, or in general legislation. It is embodied also in commissions given to individuals. Monsignor quotes from Edward VI. Letters Patent, appointing a Bishop, and he italicizes the words, which he *wishes* us to understand as meaning the very thing they do *not* mean ; but calls no attention whatever to the words in which the King professes to give only such powers to the Bishop as are “ *over and above the things known to have been committed to him by God in the Scriptures.*” *These* words destroy entirely the very point Monsignor is trying to make,—they cut up his little bush by the roots. And yet he is simple enough to copy the words and print them ; though he is amiable enough to italicize elsewhere, and take no more notice of them than if they were not in existence !

Nevertheless, we find our Monsignor in one place making acknowledgments which cover pretty much the whole ground. Speaking of the continued resistance to papal claims in England for centuries before the Reformation, he says :

Such claims, clearly enough, sprang not from the divine and essential character of the Papacy, but from the civil position and rights *created by the nations of Europe and conferred by them*



on the Sovereign Pontiff in the Middle Ages, at a time when feudalism was the governing spirit, and the Pope was not only held to be the divinely appointed Head of the Church, but also was the unanimously-elected 'Father of the Christian nations.'

Of course, what was "created" and "conferred" by the nations upon the Pontiff, the nations could, if they saw fit, rescind and take away again; and this is just what was done in England. As to the "divinely appointed Head," based on Peter's being the Rock, etc., *that* has vanished also by a return to the *ancient* interpretation of Holy Scripture, so that there is *nothing* left.

But the most monstrous proposition in the Monsignor's little book remains to be considered. Before the "Acts of Parliament" were passed, the Church of England had some twenty Bishops, some nine thousand priests, and millions of baptized, confirmed and communing members. The Orders of Bishops and clergy, the grace of the Sacraments to all the members, were—so the Monsignor confesses—given "*direct by God.*" The Church of England was an integral and living portion of the Church of God. But *after* certain "Acts of Parliament" were passed, we are told, the effect was that "the *civil power* reduced the Church *in* England to be the Church of England. *Thus was it made* a Department of State, deriving its authority and jurisdiction from the Crown, *just as do the Army and the Judges.*" Now the Army and the Judges do not exhibit the slightest claim of grace from God through Sacraments, clergy, or in any other way. This assertion of the Monsignor, therefore, amounts to a declaration that all the gifts of

grace given "direct, by GOD," to all the Bishops, priests and people of the Church of England, were abolished at one fell swoop by an Act of the English Parliament! "Outwardly," he admits, "the form was that of the old Church, but *inwardly* the *living Divine authority* was substituted by that of the *human power* of the Crown of England. It was a *new creation*—the 'Church of England.'" *Could* the English Parliament, by passing an act, touch in *anywise* the "*living Divine authority*" of the Church? *Could* an Act of Parliament substitute "*inwardly*" a "*human power*" in the place of that which was *Divine*, "*direct from GOD?*" Is it so easy for an Act of Parliament to be *more than a match* for GOD ALMIGHTY? Was there ever a more monstrous assertion made by a man professing to be a Christian? And does the amiable Monsignor himself *really believe* that this was *done*? Not a word of it! He says: "To the *Apostles* and *their successors* [this is the correct Anglican form; the Papal form would have been "to Peter and *his* successors"], but not to kings and rulers, was it said by JESUS CHRIST: 'As the Father hath sent me, so send I you;' 'go, teach all nations.' Therefore, no act or acts of Parliament *could* confer on the sovereign, power in things *spiritual*." Very well, Monsignor! Then those acts of Parliament did *not* have power to make the gifts of GOD of none effect; they did *not* change the *spiritual* condition of the Church of England one particle; and the Church of England continued afterwards, as before, to be an integral, living portion of the true Church of the living GOD. Q. E. D.

If anything else were needed to demonstrate the

utter silliness of the charge that Church authority in England has been substituted by the Civil authority pure and simple, it is the sight, in our own day, of priests of the English Church who submit (and hundreds more are ready to follow their example) to imprisonment and deprivation rather than acknowledge the power of the State to change the slightest and most insignificant details of ritual without the free action of the Church.

The peculiar abomination, the pet horror, of Monsignor, is the idea of a *National Church*. And yet, in his quotation from S. Irenæus (p. 29), his own witness—as is usual with the *ancient* witnesses—turns against him, and talks of the Churches of different nations, just like an Anglican:

And neither do the *Churches* founded in *Germany* nor those of *Spain*, in *Gaul*, in the *East*, in *Egypt*, in *Africa*, nor in the regions in the middle of the earth, believe or deliver a different faith; but as GOD's handiwork, the Sun, is one and the same throughout the universe, so the preaching of the truth shines everywhere and enlightens all men that wish to come to the knowledge of the truth.

This way of speaking of National Churches is *our* way. The Church "of Spain" is no better than the Church "of England," as to the form of the phrase; and means precisely the same that is meant by the other phrase "*in Gaul*," "*in Egypt*," etc., all embodied in the same sentence. There is no hint in Holy Scripture that National distinctions are to be obliterated during the present dispensation, even in matters of religion. Our LORD's last commission to His Apostles is: "Go ye therefore and teach (dis-

ciple) all *nations*." And the Ancient Church speaks the same voice, agreeing perfectly with S. Irenæus. Canon xxxiv. of the Apostolic Canons says:

The Bishops of every *Nation* must acknowledge him who is *first among them*, and account *him* as their head, and do nothing of consequence without his consent; but each may do those things only which concern his own Diocese and the country places which belong to it. But *neither let him* [who is the first] do anything *without the consent of all*; for so there will be unanimity, and GOD will be glorified through the LORD JESUS CHRIST, etc.

This is the true Primitive idea, realized *exactly* in Anglicanism. The Chief Bishop in England is the Archbishop of Canterbury; in Ireland the Archbishop of Armagh; in Scotland the *Primus*; in various colonies, their Metropolitans; here in the United States, our Presiding Bishop. Not the slightest hint is found in the Apostolic Canons of any central jurisdiction belonging to the Pope of Rome. And in this respect our Anglican and American Canons are perfectly Apostolic.

As to our American branch of the Church, we must not be too severe on the Monsignor. His chief post—that which is first mentioned on his title-page—that of "Domestic Prelate of His Holiness, Leo XIII., happily reigning," and his second post, that of "Member of the Roman Congregation of the *Segnatura*," and his third place (which does not seem to be contemporaneous with the other two), of "Priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster," have doubtless absorbed too much of his time and attention to permit him to be very well posted on such insignificant

things as American affairs. When we find it gravely put down that because there were previously Romish Bishops in South America and Mexico, and in the then Spanish colony of Florida, and in the French colony of Canada, *therefore* it was an *intrusion* for us to have Bishops in New York, Connecticut and Virginia *before* there were, or ever had been, any Roman Bishops in these United States, we can but laugh! It puts us in mind of the Englishman in London who begged his American friend who was just starting for New York to deliver a letter for him to his cousin who lived in New Orleans. But if he has not learned theology abroad, it is to be feared that he will not remain among us long enough to learn geography here! And we must not forget that Monsignor's knowledge of the geography of the Old World is such that he puts Jerusalem in Asia Minor!

As to the ecclesiastical position of our Church he says:

She holds no communion with Rome; she has no jurisdiction from the See of Peter; *consequently* she forms no part of the Organic Body of CHRIST, nor indeed of any other organism; for, like her Mother, and apart from that Mother, she forms a separate and independent Corporation, possessed of human authority, and bereft of *every shred* of the *divine* jurisdiction which appertains to the Catholic Church.

The amiable Monsignor forgets what he had already said about Mission being given "direct by GOD," in every valid Ordination. One would think—to read the above—that a Pope could nullify GOD's direct gift as easily as if the said Pope were an Act of Parliament! On the next page (p. 69) he says:

"*Admit the validity of the Orders*, whence does the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States derive its mission and jurisdiction?" And on the very same page he has already (without seeming to know it) given us the answer to his question in a quotation from S. Ignatius:

The words of S. Ignatius, of the second century, are as true now as then. He says: "Apart from *the Bishop*, it is neither lawful to baptize nor to hold an agape; but whatever he judges right, that also is well pleasing unto GOD, that all which is done may be safe and sure.

This is our position exactly. S. Ignatius is one of the standard authorities of Anglicanism. There is no more recognition, in his Epistles, of any "fountain-head" of "mission and jurisdiction" in the Pope of Rome, than there is in the *Digest* of the Canons of our American Church. S. Ignatius speaks only of "the Bishop." We have him. We have him *validly* consecrated. All our baptisms and eucharists are in subordination to his canonical authority. We therefore *know*—according to S. Ignatius—that "all which is done is safe and sure," and "well pleasing unto GOD." S. Ignatius says nothing about the *Pope*. It is nothing to us, therefore, whether *he* is pleased or not.

A vast amount of dust is raised by modern Roman writers about "Mission and Jurisdiction," and Monsignor Capel does his little best in the same direction. - But the matter is simple enough, in its essence. "Mission" is the gift, given "direct by GOD," in every valid ordination, as in every valid Sacrament. S. Thomas Aquinas says:

Spiritual power is twofold—one sacramental, the other jurisdictional. That is sacramental which is bestowed by any consecration. But all consecrations of the Church are permanent as long as the thing remains which is consecrated. . . . And therefore such power continues in its essence in a man who has received it by consecration, as long as he lives, whether he fall into schism or into heresy. And this is plain from the fact that on returning to the Church such an one is not consecrated again. [Then speaking of those who are put under discipline so that it may not be lawful for them to use their power, he adds:] Nevertheless, if they use it, their power *is effective* (*effectum habet*) in *sacramentals*; because in these man does not operate except as the instrument of God; wherefore, sacramental effects are not excluded on account of any fault whatsoever of the one giving the Sacrament. Moreover, jurisdictional power is that which is conferred by *the mere concession of man*, and such power does not inhere immovably.

Among these "*Sacramentals*" S. Thomas expressly includes *Pœnitentia* and *Ordo*. As Monsignor is careful to tell us more than once that absolutions would be "null and void" if given by a deposed Bishop, though "his ordinations would be valid," we beg to recommend him to a fresh study of S. Thomas, reminding him that the present Pope, "Leo XIII., happily reigning," has restored S. Thomas to his old position of authority and influence. And the Anglican Bishops have never been even nominally deposed by the Pope or by anybody else. The validity of their orders being granted, therefore, validity of all their sacramental acts follows, even if they are in schism and heresy; and they are in neither the one nor the other.\*

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\* The extract given from Aquinas—so a friend writes me, who has access to the original—is exact as far as it goes. But



Jurisdiction, S. Thomas tells us, "is conferred by the mere concession of man." It is properly the *limiting* of the general power of Order to some special field of labor for the better securing efficiency of work and peace among the workmen. Its essence is found in the old Œcumenical Canon, that no one should be ordained *at large*—that is, without some special field of work ready for him. No Bishop was to be consecrated without a Diocese; no priest or deacon except for some particular parish or charge; and, by the older Canons, no Bishop, priest or deacon was ever to remove to another place of labor than that for which he was first ordained. Moreover, another Canon forbade that a Bishop should be forced upon an unwilling Diocese. A valid ordination, then, for Mission, and a willing people for Jurisdiction (that willingness being manifested either before or after ordination), are the essentials. The Canons of the Church, from the beginning, have regulated all else that needs to be considered as to causes of discipline, or danger of intrusion, or any other variation from the general idea here given. As to the modern Roman notion that *all* jurisdiction comes from the Pope of Rome alone, it is totally without foundation either in Holy Scripture or antiquity, and may be consigned to the same limbo which receives the notion that Peter is the Rock of Ages.

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Aquinas goes on to *exclude* absolutions, making the power to absolve depend on Jurisdiction, not on Mission. He grants, however, the validity of Baptisms and Eucharists. If I had had access to the full works of S. Thomas in the original, I should have handled the point somewhat differently.

The Monsignor has some things to say about our legal name "Protestant Episcopal." We are no admirers of that name. But he need not trouble himself on that score. He will find that name duly authorized in the creed of that undisputed General Council of the Undivided Church, which, at the same time, gave the title "*Orthodox*" to the Oriental Patriarchates, and to the Western, or Latin, portion of the flock gave the name of "The Holy *Roman* Church." Moreover, if he fail to find that General Council, we will remind him that the attempt to omit the word "Roman" from the legal title of his own Church was voted down at Trent, and at the Vatican Council also, just as the attempt to strike out the words "Protestant Episcopal" was voted down at our General Convention last October. And the one is a very pretty offset for the other. *Every* part of the Church which holds the Catholic Faith as set forth by the undisputed General Councils, and has a ministry of the unbroken Apostolic Succession, is a Branch of the true Vine, and has a *right* to the name of Catholic, no matter what local designation may be in use besides. If Mr. Smith have seven sons, the oldest, named John, has no right to insist that *he* is the *only* true Smith, and that no one of the other six has any right to the family name. Monsignor's claim to the "exclusive" use of the word "Catholic" is equally empty. The insisting on the addition of "Roman" both at Trent and at the Vatican Council *proves* that they know this themselves.

By-the-way, after all that is said to the disparagement of King and Parliament, it is comical to see the

seriousness with which Monsignor quotes from Newman the declaration that "The *Emperor Gratian*, in the fourth century, had ordered that the Churches, which the Arians had usurped, should be restored to those [not 'who held 'the Catholic Faith,' or 'the Nicene Creed,' or were 'in communion with the *orbis terrarum*,' but] 'who chose the communion of *Damasus*, the then Pope," just as if the *Emperor Gratian* were not as purely "civil authority" as Queen Elizabeth or the English Parliament. And would he have done so if *Liberius* had then been Pope, or *Vigilius*, or *Honorius*? And if he *had*,—what *then*?

It is edifying, too, to read the Monsignor's admiration for *Magna Charta*. Speaking of the English Church before the Reformation, he says:

Its independence of the State was secured by *Magna Charta*, in these words: "The *English Church* is, of Divine right, free, and its laws and liberties are not to be violated." Church and State grew side by side in harmony, rendering mutual aid, and formed "Merrie England."

And this glorification of *Magna Charta* is given by an Ultramontane Romanist, in seeming ignorance of the significant fact that the then Pope excommunicated the Archbishop of Canterbury who helped to gain it, and declared *Magna Charta* itself to be null and void! It is a happy instance, showing how little regard was paid to the Pope three hundred years before the Reformation. The excommunication was regarded by nobody; and *Magna Charta*, which the Pope declared to be null and void, has not even begun to be null and void yet! Who cares? Apparently, not even Monsignor Capel!

It is not unpleasant to read what the Pope said to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Theodore) a thousand years ago. He says: "By authority of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom power was given by our Lord to bind and to loose in Heaven and on earth, we, however unworthy, holding the place of that same Blessed Peter, who bears the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, grant to you, Theodore, and your successors, *all that from old time was allowed forever to remain unimpaired* in that your Metropolitan See in the City of Canterbury." Our modern Roman controversialists on behalf of the Pope would fain make us believe that this, the Pope's promise and gift "*forever to remain unimpaired*," is now utterly null and void. But we think better of His Holiness than that! It was hardly worth while, indeed, to lug in S. Peter as having anything to do with conveying to Theodore "all" that the Archbishop of Canterbury had *already* been enjoying "*from old time*." It sounded generous, and was certainly quite safe, however, to give to the Archbishop what belonged to his See anyhow. It was a way the Popes had. But if there was anything at all in the gift *prospectively*, we would only call Monsignor's attention to the fact, that as the Pope gave the Archbishop of Canterbury all these things, in the name of blessed Peter, and to the Archbishop's "*successors*," "*forever to remain unimpaired*," of course, if there is any truth or reality in a gift from a Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury *must retain them all, to this day*. To deny it, and maintain that they are all gone, and that the Archbishop is

only "an agent of the Crown," is to be guilty of flat blasphemy against *the Pope!*

One of the most astounding assertions of our amiable Monsignor is in his statement of the position of the Methodists as compared with ours. He says, of Methodism :

The spiritual authority to which it lays claim is derived from no external source ; it was begotten by its own clergy, and can be restricted, extended, or destroyed by the acts of the Body. The authority is indubitably human. The "Protestant Episcopal Church" of the United States has *no other title to its authority in things spiritual*. It cannot produce any credentials to show that it derives authority from the Living Mystic Body of CHRIST. In common with its Methodist sister, it can claim only that authority which was *created by its members*, an authority purely human, not Divine.

The Methodist ministers in England, after Wesley's death, at their regular conference, *voted* that thenceforth, wherever it was desired, their preachers (though not ordained men) should administer both the Sacraments. They voted it to themselves without any ceremony. In America, the Methodists derive their orders from John Wesley, who, being only a priest, never had any power to ordain at all, and such an ordination *never* was accounted valid in any Branch of the Catholic Church, in any age. Our Orders come to us by an unbroken succession of Bishops, the threefold chain being derived by us from the Mother Church of England, and by her from the unquestioned Western Church before the Reformation, *no* consecration having ever taken place among us with less than three Bishops uniting in the act—consecrations which are valid by the ancient canons, and

by the principles of *every* Branch of the Holy Catholic Church, in every age, including Rome herself, as we have already shown from S. Thomas Aquinas—consecrations which convey a spiritual gift “*direct from GOD,*” as Monsignor himself admits. And yet he says that these two “titles” to spiritual authority are just the same! We are afraid that our amiable Monsignor has lost the power to blush!

Another sly trick strengthens this reluctant suspicion. In the text of his treatise (p. 30), he quotes S. Cyprian as saying :

He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the Faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, *he who abandons the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded,* does he feel confident that he is in the Church?

On p. v. of Part II., in which the entire Treatise is reprinted, the words I have italicized (which are the only ones of any real use to Monsignor) are *totally omitted*, and very correctly. They are a Papal interpolation,—one of the almost innumerable interpolations and forgeries of all sorts by which Roman partisans have attempted to make the ancient witnesses lisp the modern Shibboleth. Baluze’s note stands in the Benedictine edition, giving the facts of the case, showing that the words are absent from almost *every* extant MS. of S. Cyprian, and from *every* printed edition till one, in 1563. Monsignor may not have known about this, but in that case he was hardly qualified to write on such a subject at all. But the marvellous thing is to see the happy-go-lucky unconsciousness with which, after pressing the *forged*

passage on us in Part I., without the slightest hint of its being even doubtful, he coolly reprints the *correct* version in Part II., as if he would not care to blush even if he were found out.

But we must close—rather from want of space than of material. And in closing, we would present a contrast, as to the *living voice* on either side, and the probability as to whether of the twain is the more likely to be a safe guide unto Truth.

On the one side is the Pope of Rome, claiming for himself, without the consent of the Church, all power over faith and morals, and proving it by adding two dogmas in our own day, and under one and the same Pope, Pius IX. The one of these dogmas—the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary—was scouted by S. Bernard as a novelty in the twelfth century, and a ridiculous novelty at that; yet *he* is still a “Saint,” though if he were alive now, and should teach the same as he taught *then*, he would be *excommunicated* by her who calls herself *semper eadem*—“always the same.” The other dogma—that of the infallibility of the Pope—set forth only in 1870, is far worse. Before that fatal year, the authorized teaching of the Roman Church in Scotland, Ireland and this country, in “Keenan’s Controversial Catechism,” was as follows :

Q. Must not Catholics believe the Pope himself to be infallible?

A. *This is a Protestant invention; it is no article of the Catholic Faith; no decision of his can bind, on pain of heresy, unless it be received and enforced by the teaching body, that is, by the Bishops of the Church.*



Since 1870 this "Protestant invention" has become "the Catholic faith," and every Romanist is bound to believe that it has always been the Faith from the beginning. He is bound to believe that the Pope's decisions are binding "*of themselves*," and "*not* by the consent of the Church."

Also, the Romish Bishops of Germany, the year before the Vatican decision, met at Fulda, and unitedly issued a Pastoral to their people, in which they told them that there was no danger that the Infallibility of the Pope was going to be made a dogma. They declared that this infallibility was no part of the original Deposit of Faith, that it *could not* be made a dogma, and that even if it were made a dogma by an Œcumenical Council, it would not bind any man's conscience. *After* the Council, they returned to Germany, ate all their own words, professed that Infallibility *was now* a part of the Catholic Faith, and had been from the beginning, and excommunicated all who would not turn their coats as readily as they had done themselves. This dogma of Infallibility runs backward as well as forward, giving Romanists a heavy load to carry in Liberius, and Vigilius, and Honorius, and quite a number of others. If infallibility be true, then Honorius *could* not have been a heretic. Yet, if that be the case, what becomes of the infallibility of a long line of Popes, *every one* of whom *excommunicated Honorius as a heretic*? But, as aforesaid, the appeal to history is treason—to a Romanist—for it knocks Infallibility all to pieces.

So much for purity and stability of doctrine in our own day. As to the effect of all this, a little story

may illustrate the true state of the case. A Romish priest in this country was talking with one of his leading laymen in regard to these two new dogmas, and seemed to be more and more scandalized as the layman uttered opinions that were anything but docile. At length the priest, in a menacing manner, asked him plainly: "Do you not, then, *believe* in the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope?" To which the laymen boldly replied: "No, I don't; and nobody can make me!" Whereupon the priest, after a brief pause, with an entire change of manner and voice, said quietly, but very significantly: "*Neither do I!*" Is that Church likely to be a safe guide to Truth?

And as to Unity, it is as bad or worse. A thousand years ago, Papal usurpation and ambition led to the Great Schism—the Pope excommunicating the other four Patriarchs and all their adherents, and Monsignor alludes to them as the "Greek sects," accordingly. After hundreds of years of increasing corruptions, tyrannies and scandals, and vain cries for "Reform" in every Council that met during those ages—the need of it being confessed with the utmost freedom in the sermon preached at the opening of the Council of Trent—the storm burst, and the Pope excommunicated England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and large parts of Germany and Switzerland. In our day the new dogmas have been followed by a fresh schism, and the *Old Catholics*, who cannot swallow the novelties, are excommunicated, as were all the rest. How can the Pope be necessary to the preservation of the Church, when he

has caused greater, more obstinate, and more destructive *divisions* than all other causes put together?

Now let us look at the other side. As to the Truth, (remembering Monsignor's happy declaration that before our LORD ascended into heaven, He "did make known *the whole* of that doctrine which He had received of His FATHER, and in doing this, He *completed* and *closed* the Revelation made to man"), the Anglican position is simple. Its dogmatic statements are the creeds and other definitions of the Undivided Church, which *forbade further additions to be made*. We, therefore, add nothing. That truth, which is the same "yesterday, to-day and forever," is enough for us. We ask no more. We accept no less.

And as to Unity, we would point to the Lambeth Conference of 1867, which met and adjourned before the call for the Vatican Council was issued. A larger number of Bishops met there than *ever* have met in *any* council since the Great Schism, outside of the Communion of Rome; more than were in attendance even at many sessions of the Council of Trent. They met, not on a summons, in obedience to despotic power, but in response to a brotherly invitation which recognized the equality of all, according to Holy Scripture and the ancient Canons. Their decisions were spontaneously unanimous, needing none of that terrible pressure which is so indispensable a feature of all Roman Councils. After expressing their sorrow for the divisions of Christendom, they thus point out the true way to unity: "We do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be

most effectually promoted by maintaining the Faith in its purity and integrity—as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils—and by drawing each of us closer to our common LORD by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the LORD's appearing." It is in perfect harmony with this noble declaration that, while Roman methods make old quarrels incurable, and are constantly stirring up new ones, the Anglican method and position are bringing forth already wonderful drawings toward Unity. The Unity that exists among the two hundred Bishops of our Anglican Communion is visible to all. We are in open communion with the Old Catholics. The signs of approaching full communion with the great Oriental Church grow stronger from year to year. The explanation as to the Double Procession of the HOLY GHOST, happily agreed upon at Bonn by Prelates and Theologians Oriental, Old Catholic, Anglican, and American, has done more to heal that old wound than all the frauds and force employed at Florence or all the controversies of a thousand years. Armenians and Copts are beginning to look toward England for sympathy and aid. The bitterness of Protestant divisions is steadily diminishing, and their drawing toward the Church becomes more apparent day by day. In brief, the Anglican influence is working as visibly and indisputably toward Unity on Apostolic foundations of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, as Rome is creating and perpetuating schisms.

Whether for Truth or Unity, therefore, England is a safer guide than Rome. And our amiable Monsignor, while saying many things, and giving us many quotations, which prove our position to be sound, has said nothing—no matter how hard he tried—which disturbs us in the least. If he wounded us on one page, he was sure to furnish plenty of healing salve on another. And we shall await every fresh appearance of his amiable countenance upon the field of controversy as the opening up of a fresh fountain of amusement.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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NEW YORK, 365 FIFTH AVE., September 18, 1884.

REVD. SIR:—By an advertisement I learn that you are to reply to my monograph, "Catholic." The fourth edition has just been issued, and as it may not have been seen by you, I send you a copy, and I beg to call your attention to the important additions made in sections 3 and 4.

As I am only anxious to aid in bringing about the increase of the One Fold under the One Shepherd, I venture to call your attention to this new edition. Later I will add a postscript, by way of rejoinder to you and others.

I am, Revd. Sir, Yours faithfully,

T. J. CAPEL.

Revd. Dr. J. H. HOPKINS.

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WILLIAMSPORT, PA., September 30, 1884.

VERY REVD. SIR:—The "reply" to which you allude in your favor of the 18th inst. is simply a Review, written in four days stolen from very pressing duties, shortly after the appear-

ance of the first edition of your pamphlet. My completed MS. has been in the hands of the Editor of the *American Church Review* since the early part of July. Your letter reaches me just as the last revised proofs are passing through my hands. I have delayed them as long as I dared, hoping to receive the copy of the fourth edition which you have been kind enough to send me ; but it has not yet arrived.

The courtesy of the Editor of the REVIEW, in which my Article appears, will doubtless give me room, in some subsequent issue, for any further notice that may seem to be demanded by the additions of which you have informed me, or by the "rejoinder" which you promise. It is all that I can do at present.

Reciprocating the earnestness of your desire for "the increase of the One Fold under the One Shepherd," but convinced by the history of the last thousand years that it will never be brought about in the Roman way, I am,

Very Revd. Sir, Your ob't serv't in the Church,

J. H. HOPKINS.

To the Very Revd. Monsignor T. J. CAPEL,  
*Domestic Prelate of His Holiness, etc., etc.*

WILLIAMSPORT, PA., *October 2, 1884.*

VERY REV. SIR:—Your telegram has been received, and the copy mailed me has just arrived—too late for use this time. The fact that the address on the wrapper was simply "I. Hopkins, Esq., Williamsport, Pa.," will exonerate the CHURCH REVIEW office and the U. S. Mail service from any responsibility for the delay in the transmission of the pamphlet to me.

Y'r ob't ser't in the Church,

J. H. HOPKINS.

To the Very Rev. Monsignor T. J. CAPEL,  
*Domestic Prelate, etc.*

## THE HOPKINS-CAPEL CONTROVERSY.

The following letters have appeared since the first edition of this *Reply* was published. Some are addressed directly by the controversialists one to another; others have been published in the secular press:

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LETTER I.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM MGR. CAPEL IN THE NEW YORK *TIMES*, OCTOBER 26.

THE CATHEDRAL, MILWAUKEE, Oct. 22, 1884.

TO THE REV. J. H. HOPKINS, D.D., WILLIAMSPORT, PENN.:

REVEREND SIR:—In a notice of “Catholic an Essential and Exclusive Attribute of the True Church,” which you contribute to the current number of the *American Church Review*, you are pleased to make me the mouthpiece of a gross heresy, namely, that I assert “mission or jurisdiction is direct from God.” I have written the very contrary. Here are my words: “The power of order and the power of jurisdiction are of God; the one comes direct through the Sacrament of Orders, the other indirectly from God through the Church by appointment.”

I have no ambition to be numbered among the teachers of false doctrine. Besides, as the proposition I have enunciated is the key to the whole position of the Protestant Episcopal Church, I must beg you in the interests of truth and justice to at once make the necessary reparation. The most extraordinary fact is that you should cite, at page 234 of the *Review*, the paragraph in which the above passage occurs, and wherein I repeat in three different ways that “mission is not direct from God,” and two pages later you make me say that “mission is direct from God.” From this false assumption you of course triumphantly conclude that the “Protestant Episcopal Church has a divine mission, and is therefore Catholic.” But your premise being false your conclusion is equally so. The



Article in the *Church Review* shall in due time have a reply, but immediate action is needed to prevent the further spread of what I never taught, either by word or letter.

I am, reverend Sir, your obedient servant in CHRIST,  
T. J. CAPEL.

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LETTER II.

DR. HOPKINS'S REPLY TO MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

WILLIAMSPORT, November 3, 1884.

VERY REV. SIR:—On Saturday morning (All Saints' Day) I returned from an absence of about a week, and, among the pile of letters on my table, found your "registered letter," the manuscript copy of the "open letter" which had already appeared in I know not how many of the leading newspapers in the country. While reading it your telegram was brought to my door, of which more anon.

In your "open letter" you charge that I have misrepresented you, by saying that you assert that "Mission or jurisdiction is *direct* from GOD." You give these words in quotation marks. There is *no such phrase in my entire article* from beginning to end. The charge, therefore, falls to the ground. I have no "reparation" to make.

You quote from yourself a few lines showing your true position; and you add:

"The most extraordinary fact is that you should cite on page 234 of the REVIEW the very paragraph containing the above passage, wherein I repeat, in three different ways, that 'Mission is *not direct* from GOD,' and then two pages later you make me say that 'Mission is *direct* from GOD.' From this false assumption you triumphantly conclude that the 'Protestant Episcopal Church' is truly Catholic."

Thank you for admitting that I have quoted the *very passage* which you repeat as stating your true position. I have done more. I quoted the context both before and after, making more than half a page; and I quoted it *correctly*, whereas you

seem unable to quote a phrase of *seven words* from *me*, without destroying its identity. But to make the matter clear to the general reader, some explanation is needful.

In regard to the Ministry, you distinguish between *mission* and *jurisdiction*. You also sometimes speak of them as *mission* and *commission*; sometimes as *Order* (or *Orders*) and *jurisdiction*; but throughout the discussion of that point in your pamphlet, you use "*Order*" or "*Orders*" as equivalent to "*mission*." Now instead of saying in your pamphlet that "*Mission is not direct from God*," you say *exactly the contrary* over and over again! You say it in the very sentence which you quote from yourself, and which I have quoted before! You say in one place (p. 21): "The 'imposition of hands' is the Sacrament of *Orders*, and in common with the other Sacraments, its effect is conferred *direct by God*." Again (page 23) you speak of "the power of *Order*" as "coming *directly* from *Christ*," and so in other places. There is no contrary teaching in your pamphlet. And for you *now* to assert that you have said, that "*Mission is not direct from God*," is to upset yourself in the most comical manner that I have ever witnessed, even in ecclesiastical controversy. Your "open letter" turns your pamphlet, on this point, inside out.

Nor is there anything in this sudden and astounding somersault which betters your position in any way. It is utterly gratuitous. In fact, the mess you make of the matter in your "open letter" is so wonderful that I cannot account for it at all, except upon the supposition that, in the haste of writing for the newspapers, you inadvertently wrote "*mission*" when you meant "*jurisdiction*," which would be very much like writing "*black*" when you meant "*white*." That would have made your position consistent with yourself. But then it would have had nothing to do with *me*; for *I* have never charged you with saying that "*jurisdiction*" is "*direct from God*." So that the muddle is perfectly unaccountable! I give it up!

When I make a mistake, however, I am always thankful for correction. My Article was, as you know, prepared in only four days; and, not having access to any large theological

library, not a few of my quotations were necessarily made at second hand, though from sources which I thought reliable for accuracy. A friend has been kind enough to correct me in two instances. The first is, that, instead of being first heard of in 1621, the Roman interpretation of the text "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," is some hundreds of years older, an error which does not alter the argument. The second is in regard to the quotation from S. Thomas Aquinas. My friend—who happily has access to the original—tells me that my quotation is entirely correct *as far as it goes*; but that Aquinas, further on, *excludes* absolutions and excommunications. Had the *entire* passage been within my reach, I should not have used it in the way in which it appears in my article. In both these cases I shall append "notes" to the next edition, to correct the errors made. The substance of the argument is not touched in the slightest by either of them.

But now for your telegram. I received it on Saturday morning, while reading your "Open letter—registered:"

NEW YORK, October 31, 1884.

*To Rev. J. H. Hopkins :*

Notwithstanding my letter, your article is being sold without correcting false statement. I must insist on a suspension of sale till corrected, or hold you responsible for damages.

MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

This was so extraordinary that I at first thought it might be a hoax. I therefore telegraphed you, asking you whether you had sent me a telegram the day previous, and promptly I received the following reply :

NEW YORK, November 1, 1884.

*To Rev. J. Hopkins :*

Yes, I telegraphed you yesterday. Last week, October 22, sent you registered letter from Milwaukee.

MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

So there was no room for possible mistake. In the first of these two telegrams, Monsignor, I confess that you have capped the climax. We all know that your Papal Church—*Semper*

*Eadem*—had a kind way of delivering “heretics” to “the secular arm;” but as you began with such a show of amiability, I did not suppose that my turn would come so soon. I am only thankful that to appear before an American jury is not quite so serious a business as to be chained to a stake, surrounded with faggots, and with a bag of gunpowder tied around my neck by way of mercy. But are you aware of the effect this threat of yours will have? In this free country it is not the fashion to carry on ecclesiastical discussions by actions for damages in the civil courts. I am really afraid that the people will begin laughing at you, Monsignor! While I have done you no wrong in the way you charge—no, not by so much as the turning of a hair—you have accused *me* of what I never did, and you have spread the accusation broadcast through the newspapers. But I do not whine to the public for sympathy. I have no complaint to make. The courtesy of American editors is ready to insert a reply to every attack they may print, and so long as my pen is free, I can take care of myself. But in answer to your first telegram, it gives me pleasure to reply, pointblank, that my Article will continue to be sold, so long as the public wishes to buy it; that it will *not* be “corrected” in the point which you insist on; that the sale will *not* be “suspended,” so long as you continue to advertise it so splendidly [for which I thank you]; and, as no other alternative is left me by the terms of your peremptory telegram except “responsibility” for “damages,” I shall be prepared to hear from your lawyer without further ceremony.

Meanwhile, awaiting that, or your promised rejoinder, or both, with entire equanimity, I am, Monsignor,

Your obedient servant in the Church,

J. H. HOPKINS.

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LETTER III.

MONSIGNOR CAPEL TO THE REV. J. H. HOPKINS, D.D.

NO. 365 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NOV. 8, 1884.

REV. SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your open reply of the 3d inst. The mutilation of the passage

of S. Thomas Aquinas, the misstatement concerning the text of S. Luke, evidently copied from Littledale, together with sundry other cooked quotations in your original reply, are fully dealt with in the "Rejoinder," which will be given to the public in a few days by me.

Your task of replying to my treatise, "Catholic," was self-imposed. Written, you say, in four days, shortly after the appearance of "Catholic," the first week in June, the final proof-sheets passed through your hands September 30. It is to be doubted whether, under such an explanation, you can sustain the excuse now urged—"Not having access to any theological library, not a few of my quotations were necessarily made at second hand, though from sources which I thought reliable for accuracy."

But, worse still, notwithstanding the plain definitions given by me (pp. 21-23) of "Catholic" which were before your eyes; notwithstanding the reassertion of these definitions and explanations, you now coolly assert that I "distinguish between mission and jurisdiction," "sometimes as Order and jurisdiction;" that throughout the discussion of that point in my pamphlet I "use Order or Orders as equivalent to mission," and that "instead of saying mission is not direct from GOD," I "say exactly the contrary over and over again."

I will not venture to stigmatize, as it deserves, this gross falsification of my plain, clear statement.

Here are my *ipsissima verba* :—"In appointing these pastors there was first, the imposition of hands, and second, the being sent . . . The imposition of hands is the Sacrament of Orders . . . its effect is conferred direct by GOD . . . The commission or 'being sent' is derived direct from the Apostles. . . . These two powers are distinguished as the power of order and the power of jurisdiction . . . the one comes direct through the Sacrament of Orders, the other indirectly from GOD through the Church by appointment. . . . The power of jurisdiction is not necessarily attached to orders, though for some acts, such as absolution from sin, both are necessary. . . . The first, coming directly from CHRIST, is abiding, unchangeable, and is conferred in equal measure on

each priest or bishop. The second, not coming immediately, but through the Church from CHRIST to individuals, is conferred in varying proportions, as may be deemed expedient for the good of souls."

This is my statement given pages 21, 22, 23 of "Catholic." Therein, in unmistakable language, I state the "being sent" or the commission or jurisdiction *does not come direct from God*, and that it is not the same power as that of order or orders, or imposition of hands.

You, reverend sir, make me say the contradictory. Our children from their earliest years know the distinction between mission and orders expressed in the words of their Catechism:—"The Church is Apostolic because she has her doctrine, her Orders, and her *mission* from the Apostles." It is passing strange that you, a doctor of divinity, should not know that "the being sent," or mission, is inseparably associated with jurisdiction, so that he who is legitimately *sent* has lawful jurisdiction; and though in the order of thought "the being sent" is first, yet the jurisdiction is in practice coincident with mission.

My crucial question is made up of two, and only two, parts. They are placed antithetically; the one refers to the imposition of hands, the other to the mission and jurisdiction. Here is the question in its separated parts:—

1. Admit, for argument's sake, the validity of her Orders.
2. Whence does the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States derive its mission and jurisdiction?

You answer, reverend sir, page 236 of the "Review," "This mission being the very thing which he (Monsignor) had previously declared to be given direct by GOD, and to be abiding, unchangeable and conferred in equal measure on each priest or bishop;" and at page 259: "The amiable Monsignor forgets what he had already said about mission being given direct by GOD in every valid ordination;" and at page 260: "A vast amount of dust is raised by modern Roman writers about mission and jurisdiction, and Mgr. Capel does his little best in the same direction. But the matter is simple enough in its essence.

Mission is the gift given direct by GOD in every valid ordination as in every valid Sacrament."

You then cite, second hand, a mutilated passage of S. Thomas Aquinas, suppressing the very words which showed the doctrine presented by this Saint, who died 610 years ago, to be identical with that explained by me in "Catholic."

It would be difficult to find a more scandalous substitution of "nay ; nay" for "yea ; yea" in an author's statement. And I yet feel that your own sense of justice will lead you to make the *amende honorable*. In America, as in the Old World, I have ever found men of honor ready to repair any violation of truth even made under misunderstanding.

I am, reverend sir, yours respectfully,

T. J. CAPEL.

Rev. J. H. HOPKINS, Williamsport, Pa.

In the *New York Herald* of November 13th, the following appears:

LETTER IV.

THE HOPKINS-CAPEL CONTROVERSY.

REPLY OF THE PROTESTANT DIVINE TO HIS CATHOLIC ANTAGONIST.

To the Editor of the *Herald*:

As you have inserted Mgr. Capel's letter to me, dated November 8, 1884, I beg that you will do me the kindness to insert the enclosed reply to the same and oblige your obedient servant,

J. H. HOPKINS.

WILLIAMSPORT, Nov. 12, 1884.

DR. HOPKINS TO MGR. CAPEL.

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa., Nov. 12, 1884.

RIGHT REV. SIR:—It is well to look at your last move before you make another. You seem to have forgotten all about it. Permit me to refresh your memory. That move was embodied in your extraordinary and peremptory telegram of October 31, which runs as follows:



TO REV. J. H. HOPKINS:—Notwithstanding my letter, your Article is being sold without correcting false statement. I must insist on a suspension of sale till corrected, or hold you responsible for damages.

MGR. CAPEL.

In answer to this—after utterly exploding the Charge of having made any “false statement” of what you had written—I assured you, pointblank, that the “correction” “you insisted on” would not be made, and that the sale of my Article would not “be suspended.” By the express terms of your threat, therefore, you are bound to proceed against me at law for “damages.” Why don’t you do it? I am ready. You do not flinch from your own proposal already, do you?

Of course, self-respect will not permit me to continue a controversy on ecclesiastical matters under the threat of an action for “damages.” You have made your position for yourself. It is a very ridiculous position, no doubt, but it is all your own doing. Begin your action at law as soon as you please. If you do, you will furnish no end of amusement to my friends before you are done with it, and the great American people will have more than one hearty laugh.

If, however, you have changed your mind—as it is much wiser to do—you cannot be permitted to drop such a threat as that in silence, and go on as if nothing of the sort had been said. You must withdraw the threat as plainly and as unequivocally as it was made, or no notice whatever will hereafter be taken of any letter, public or private, that you may address to your obedient servant in the Church,

J. H. HOPKINS.

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TO THE RIGHT REV. MGR. CAPEL, DOMESTIC PRELATE, ETC.

[As the *Herald* has now published Mgr. Capel’s letter and Dr. Hopkins’ reply thereto, we do not propose to give any further space to a controversy which properly belongs to the religious press, if anywhere.]—Ed. HERALD.

To this, Mgr. Capel sent the following reply, mailing it to the Rev Dr. Hopkins :

NO. 365 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NOV. 14, 1884.

REV'D SIR :—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter bearing date Nov. 14. It can hardly be meant as an answer to the original of the appended, mailed to you on Sunday, Nov. 9.

I am, Rev'd Sir, Respectfully yours,

T. J. CAPEL.

## MONSIGNOR CAPEL AGAIN.

IN closing the review of Monsignor Capel's "*Catholic*," in the October issue, it was said: "We shall await every fresh appearance of his amiable countenance upon the field of controversy as the opening up of a fresh fountain of amusement." And, ever since, the Monsignor has been fulfilling the prediction with an abundant variety, transcending even the most sanguine anticipations. The long history of Anglican controversy with advocates of the Roman Church shows nothing that will compare with it.

His first demonstration appeared promptly on the 22d of October, and the sole basis of attack is thus stated by him:

You are pleased to make me the mouthpiece of a gross heresy—namely, that I assert "Mission or jurisdiction is direct from God."

The amusing thing about this is, that there is *no such phrase* in our entire article. The seven words are given by him in quotation marks, as if they were cited accurately. Yet they are a *manufactured* quotation. We never used them, and never *could* have used them, because they muddle precisely the two things which we had been careful to keep distinct.

In the same *Open Letter* he refers to a passage quoted by us from him; and he adds concerning it: "Wherein I repeat in three different ways that 'Mis-

sion is not direct from GOD.' ” And yet the amusing fact is that, in the passage referred to, he does not say that thing even *once* ! He does not in that passage use the word “mission” *at all*. If he had, there would have been no danger of misapprehending his meaning.

But his power of misquotation is not by any means exhausted. In his *Rejoinder*\* (p. 22) he asserts :

Dr. Hopkins says: “The being sent, the Mission, and Jurisdiction come through valid ordination.”

This is another *manufactured* quotation. No such words were written by us. It is meant, as before, to *muddle* the very two things which we had most carefully kept distinct.

Again, in his *Rejoinder* (p. 19), the Monsignor gives another adroit quotation from himself :

We say, “the being sent, or mission, with its necessary consequent Commission or Jurisdiction, can only be done through the Church’s appointment.”

It would be hard to say where this quotation comes from. It certainly is not to be found in this form anywhere in “*Catholic*.” The insertion of the word “mission” as identified with *jurisdiction*, shows the object to be to supply *what had been left out* in the original pamphlet.

One more specimen of the art of misquotation—not that it is of any great importance, but Monsignor, with a happy grace, strikes into it as if it were a matter of course. In his *Rejoinder* (p. 17), he says :

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\* Monsignor Capel’s Rejoinder to the Reply of Rev. J. H. Hopkins, D.D. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

The Doctor has not yet learnt the theology embodied in the Monsignor's words : " There are in *all* sects those who are in simple, honest faith ; they act with good conscience, and accordingly they receive of God grace and joy and peace."

But these were not "the Monsignor's words." He said nothing at all about the "sects," or "*all* sects." The words as he originally used them refer simply and only to "the greater number" of those commonly called Ritualists. He says :

There is no city of any size in the States where such religious belief and practices have not a fair, sometimes even a large following. And if the descriptions of the press be accurate, the conformity with Roman Catholic liturgy and doctrines is complete.

These words certainly cannot refer to "*all* sects ;" and yet *immediately* follows this paragraph (italics are ours) :

Of those who do *believe* and *so practice*, the *greater number* are verily convinced their church is not Protestant but Catholic. They are in simple, honest faith ; they act with good conscience, and accordingly they receive of God grace, and joy, and peace.

What is to be done with a Monsignor who seems to be unable to quote correctly either from his opponent or from *himself* ?

But now let us turn to the point about which he has made such clamorous complaints in the newspapers, and renews them in his *Rejoinder*.

Monsignor correctly declares Spiritual power to be *twofold* (and *two* does not mean *three* or *four*). He says :

It will be remarked that, in appointing these pastors, there was (1) "imposition of hands" ; and (2) "the being sent."

Again he says: "These *two* powers are distinguished as the power of *Order*, the power of *Jurisdiction*." And he quotes S. Thomas Aquinas as saying: "Spiritual power is *twofold*: one sacramental, the other jurisdictional." Now there is no difference between us thus far—none whatever. The only point is as to the *use* of the word *mission*. Our writers not uncommonly use the word *Mission* to signify the Sacramental gift. When we speak of "Mission and Jurisdiction," we mean the same as "Order and Jurisdiction." It is perfectly clear that *this* is the sense in which it was used in our October article. In the *only* place in which Monsignor used the word "mission" in "*Catholic*," he couples it with "jurisdiction"—"mission *and* jurisdiction"—as if they were *two* separate and distinct things. He does not say mission *or* jurisdiction, which would have implied that they were identified. Now if they are *two* separate and distinct things (and there are only the *two* powers spoken of), "jurisdiction" is clearly "jurisdiction," and the *other word*, "mission," *must* refer to the *other thing*. When Monsignor said "mission and jurisdiction," therefore putting "mission" first, it was taken for granted, as clearly evident, that by "mission" he meant "Order." He has nobody but himself to thank for the error, which was solely due to his own use of the word without clearer explanation. His manufactured quotations are for the purpose of making it appear that *we* charged him with teaching that "*jurisdiction*" is given "direct by God"—a thing we are utterly innocent of, never having even dreamed of such a thing. And the *uselessness* of the whole

squabble is palpable. It is only about the use of a *word*, when there is no contest about the *thing*. We both agree that Order is a direct gift from God. We both agree that jurisdiction comes from God *indirectly* by human appointment. And whether the *word* "mission" is used to signify the former or the latter, makes no difference in the *thing*. All that was needed was, for Monsignor to say that we had misunderstood his use of the word "Mission"—that he meant it as *identified* with jurisdiction, not as a distinct thing from it. Any requisite correction would cheerfully have been made at once: *and we make it now*. We are polite enough to take his word for it, that he meant it so: though it was impossible to prove it by his first pamphlet. The main point at issue is not touched by so much as a hair, either one way or the other.

But this easy solution would not have furnished the amusement which the Monsignor was bound to supply. A new thing under the sun was to be seen, absurd enough to make everybody's face break into a smile. The question whether the word "Mission" was to be identified with "Order" or with "Jurisdiction" was declared to involve "gross heresy," and a threat was made to drag it before the civil courts on a suit at law for damages! Only think of a Roman Prelate—Domestic Prelate—threatening to bring a case of "heresy" before a *civil* court, and with an *American jury* at that! And, as if this were not enough, he threatens likewise to sue the publishers of the *American Church Review*, and even a bookseller who kept the *Review* for sale on his count-



ers! In his "Rejoinder" he mentions again the "claim made by him, which claim he re-asserts, to hold both printer and author *responsible for damages accruing*." This is a new phase of amiability!

But even this is not the whole. The threat was made that he would sue, if the sale of our Article was not suspended, and the required correction made. Not seeing that any such correction was called for, his two conditions were refused and his challenge to a law-suit accepted. Whereupon—instead of proceeding to his law-suit—our amusing Monsignor, *without withdrawing his threat*, proposes to go on with the discussion as if no threat had been made! When the distinct issue is put to him in reply, that he must *execute* his threat, or *withdraw* it, or no further notice would be taken of anything he might address to his opponent, his brief reply made no allusion to the legal matter whatsoever!

Even this is not the climax. Within three days after this quiet slipping out from the challenging position, after his challenge had been *accepted*, the Monsignor finds himself among his own people, at a banquet after services in the Church of Our Lady of Grace, in Hoboken, where his health was proposed by Father Corrigan, who said: "He is so gifted in the especial mission he has undertaken, that he can penetrate into social circles where ordinary secular and regular priests would not be recognized." And Monsignor, in his reply, speaking highly of the press, said also some handsome things about his own prowess:

Of course, it occasionally happened that I received some blows from that quarter. But then I can strike hard, straight out from the shoulder (laughter). In fact I am a knocker-out (continued laughter and applause). But don't misunderstand me. I said knocker-out, but I am not a slugger in the John L. Sullivan sense. (The guests at this point were completely convulsed with laughter, the glasses jingled on the tables, and the room fairly rang with the applause.)\*

The climax of the amusement is to see how gloriously militant the Monsignor could be in a safe place, within three days after a clean back-down from his own challenge, when all the conditions appended to it by himself had been complied with. He is quite right in saying that he is not the same sort of a "slugger" as John L. Sullivan!

Another source of amusement may be noticed. The old fable of the Bull and the Ox comes into mind spontaneously when we think of it. When the Monsignor thought himself misrepresented—though every word quoted from him was *correctly quoted*—he flies to a dozen newspapers at once with an Open Letter, demanding "immediate action," and that "the necessary reparation" shall at once be made. But when it is shown him that *he* has made a *bogus quotation*—ascribing to his opponent words which he *never wrote*, but which are manufactured expressly to maintain a charge for which there is *no* ground whatever—when this is *his* position, what does *he* do? He says, indeed, "In America, as in the Old World, I have ever found men of honor ready to repair any violation of truth, even made under misunderstanding." But

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\* *Evening Telegram* of November 18, 1884.

that is meant for his opponent to act on. Does he act on it himself? Not he! When detected in *manufacturing* a quotation to put into his opponent's mouth, and openly charged with it, he says—*nothing*. He does not deny it—it is too plain to be denied. He does not confess it and “repair” it—*that* would be the act of a “man of honor.” He just—drops it in silence, and goes on as if nothing had been said!

But even this is not all. Monsignor Capel quotes to us, from the decree of the Vatican Council of 1870, the following words, which we give a little more fully and correctly than he does:

But so far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being any prejudice to the *ordinary and immediate power of Episcopal jurisdiction*, by which Bishops who have been *set by the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles*, feed and govern, each his own flock, as true Pastors, that this their episcopal authority is really asserted, strengthened, and protected by the supreme and universal Pastor; in accordance with the words of S. Gregory the Great: My honor is the honor of the whole Church. My honor is the firm strength of my brethren. I am truly honored when the honor due to each and all is not withheld.

Now Monsignor calls it “gross heresy” to say that the Bishops have *immediate* jurisdiction; yet here the Vatican Council itself speaks of the “*immediate power of Episcopal jurisdiction*.” Monsignor calls it “gross heresy” to say that “jurisdiction” is given “direct by GOD;” yet the Vatican Council says that it is *by* this “ordinary and *immediate* power of Episcopal jurisdiction” that “the Bishops” “have been set *by the HOLY GHOST*”—and the HOLY GHOST is certainly GOD—“to *succeed and hold the place of the*

*Apostles;*” and yet he would fain have us believe that the “Apostolate” is one thing—confined to the Pope; and that the “Episcopate” is another thing—subordinate to the Apostolate. Now does the *Vatican Council* teach “*gross heresy?*”

Or is it only that Monsignor has not yet corrected his earlier habit of writing, to conform to this latest Vatican standard? In regard to this, “The Faith of Catholics” gives us some shining examples. To this work Monsignor refers us more than once. It is in three bulky volumes, lately reprinted, with a Preface by Monsignor himself. He tells us that it was originally compiled by the Rev. Fathers Berington and Kirk, in the early part of this century, and was after some years learnedly revised and enlarged by the Rev. Father Waterworth. It was a sort of standard controversial work, about the same time that Keenan’s “Controversial Catechism” declared the “personal infallibility of the Pope” to be “a Protestant invention,” and “no article of the Catholic Faith.” Now “The Faith of Catholics,” in its new edition, prints at the end of the third volume a translation of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of CHRIST, issued by the Vatican Council of 1870, and containing the famous decree of the Infallibility of the Pope; which is what one would expect. But in the body of the work (vol. ii., p. 105), what do we find?

#### PROPOSITION XIV.

*It is no article of Catholic Faith to believe that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the faith; by consequence, papal definitions or decrees, in whatever*

*form pronounced, taken exclusively of a General Council or acceptance of the Church, oblige none, under pain of heresy, to interior assent.*

Why, this is Keenan's Catechism over again! It is the *direct contradictory* of the Vatican decision! It is now—to Vatican ears, *heresy*—"gross heresy!" In the case of Keenan's Catechism, they had wit enough to call in all the copies they could find, and issue a new edition *corrected up to date*. Monsignor seems to have been less careful! It is one of the blessings of belonging to a communion which is *semper eadem*, that not more than *two* new articles have been added to the Creed during the reign of any one Pope. But in reissuing works concerning the *Roman Faith*, it is very important that they be carefully *corrected up to date*. What was a "Protestant invention" in 1869 is the "Catholic Faith" in 1870, and *ought* to have been so set down in "The Faith of Catholics" in 1884.

But there is more amusement of the same sort on the same page and the page following :

#### PROPOSITION XV.

Nor do Catholics, as Catholics, believe that the Pope has any direct or indirect authority over the temporal concerns of States, or the jurisdiction of princes. Hence, should the Pope pretend to absolve, or to dispense his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation they would view as frivolous and null.

And in regard to this *Proposition*, and the one quoted before, the book itself goes on to say :

On the two points contained in these two last propositions, that is, the *personal* infallibility, and the *temporal power* of the Roman Bishop, it is *not necessary to adduce authorities* (!). That

the former is *not* an essential term of communion is certain, whatever may be the *private opinions of individuals* as to whether that infallibility does, or does not, form a part of the *deposit of Faith*; while as to any temporal power being of divine right vested in the Apostolic See, *both Scripture and History* testify against such doctrine being either a *term of communion* or a *revealed truth*. On points *avowedly undefined* by the voice of the Church, the *opinions of men* are not restrained. This proves our liberty, but it touches not the substance of faith, if on such questions *discordant notions have been entertained*.

Only think of such a thing as including the personal infallibility of the Pope among the "points *avowedly undefined* by the voice of the Church," and that it is "*certain*" that it is "*not* an essential term of communion!" And this reprinted *fourteen years* after the Vatican decree has changed all that! Oh, Monsignor, how *could* you do it? And *you* a "Domestic Prelate of His Holiness Leo XIII., happily reigning," and "Member of the Congregation of the Segnatura" besides! What *will* they say to you if they ever get news of this in Rome?

Other "Propositions" might be quoted and commented on, similarly free from slavish adherence to the Bulls of Popes and other declarations which the decree of 1870 *fastens* upon all who accept it. But we should define all these "Propositions" as simply "Protestantism made easy." For, if Fathers Berington and Kirk and Waterworth, and Monsignor Capel, simply private doctors, can, of their own private judgment, throw overboard at one fell swoop so many Bulls of so many Popes, what is to prevent *other* Protestants from going a little further, and ignoring all the rest? If "both Scripture and History"

are enough for them, why are they not enough for *us*?

We might find some additional amusement by considering the several charges of "garbling" which Monsignor so loudly brings against us. Outside of the two corrections spontaneously made before they were noticed by Monsignor (thus proving our personal integrity and desire for accuracy), his charges amount to nothing. The addition to the passage of S. Augustine makes not a particle of difference in the sense of the words we quoted. As to "keeping back" quotations from S. Gregory and others about "the Royal Supremacy," the charge is utterly idle. We never undertook to give *all* possible quotations from the one, or in regard to the other. We gave only what was pertinent to the point in hand. The charge of "garbling and suppressing passages of the Dogmatic Constitution of the Vatican," is the queerest of all. We quoted the definition of the Pope's Infallibility,—his decisions on faith and morals being "*irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church,*" and we declared that it "*says not one word about the Apostles in their corporate capacity.*" And Monsignor replies, emphasizing with small capitals :

The decree of the Vatican runs: "THE SACRED COUNCIL APPROVING, we teach and define," etc. These underlined words you omit.

Well, well! Here is "garbling" to be sure! As if anything *could* be a part of the Vatican decree which "The Sacred Council" had *not* approved! Hereafter, we suppose, any extract from any Act of Parliament,



or Congress, will be set down as "garbled" unless it begin with first citing *the enacting clause*!

But now that we have had more amusement out of Monsignor than the most sanguine could have anticipated, let us settle down to solid business. And here we must beg the reader not to be discouraged by the number of quotations. They are *of the essence* of an appeal to antiquity. And they are all *to the point*. We shall enliven the array of extracts now and then, as far as we can, but we trust that the reader will be brave enough to brace himself up for a *thorough* reading of the *whole*.

The entire issue turns upon the question of Jurisdiction by the confession of Monsignor Capel himself, who says ("Rejoinder," p. 65) :

The issue is far nobler than personal triumph or notoriety ; it is none other than to know if a Corporation calling itself a Church *is* or *is not* possessed of Divine Mission and Jurisdiction, and, as a consequence, *is* or *is not* a part of the Catholic Church. If this Corporation can prove itself to be possessed of such Divine Mission and Jurisdiction, then is it alone the Catholic Church in the United States ; and any other Corporation claiming the name Catholic is a fraud, or, in the language of S. Cyprian, "an adulteress."

And in connection with this, take the following, from "Catholic" (p. 81, fourth edition), speaking of our American Church :

She holds no communication with Rome ; she has no jurisdiction from the See of Peter ; consequently she forms no part of the Organic Body of CHRIST, nor indeed of any other organism, for, like her Mother, and apart from that Mother, she forms a separate and independent Corporation, possessed of human authority, and bereft of every shred of the divine jurisdiction which appertains to the Catholic Church.

Now, this test of communion with Rome is a test very easy to be applied historically. Let us see, then, whether every portion of the Church which lost communion with Rome was forthwith considered to be cut off from the unity of the Church, and "bereft of every shred of divine jurisdiction."

Monsignor is never weary of quoting S. Cyprian as a witness for the unity of the Church. But is *this* what S. Cyprian understood by it? Not at all! On the question of the validity of heretical Baptism—in which Pope Stephen was right and S. Cyprian and the African Bishops were wrong—Stephen had written his strong condemnation of the African decision, and threatened to excommunicate them all unless they yielded. But did S. Cyprian at once submit? *Not he!* He at once held a Council of seventy-one Bishops, and decided that heretics should be re-baptized—just the very thing which the Pope had forbidden. And in writing his account of the action of that Council to the Pope he says:

We know that some are unwilling to give up an opinion they have once imbibed, nor easily change their mind; but, without interruption to the bonds of peace and concord with their colleagues, retain certain peculiarities which have once grown into usage among themselves. [Is *this* the way in which modern Ultramontanes speak of a decision of the Pope concerning one of the Sacraments?] In which matter we too do violence and give the law to no one, inasmuch as *every Bishop* has the *free choice of his own will* in the administration of the Church, as *he will give an account of his acts to the LORD*.

Stephen refused to see the Bishops who brought him this answer, and even forbade the faithful in

Rome to offer them any hospitality. The promised excommunication was launched. And if you would like to see what S. Cyprian thought about it, and about the infallibility of the Pope, read what he says to his Brother-Bishop Pompeius :

Because you desired to be informed what answer our Brother Stephen sent me to our letters, I send you a copy of his rescript, after reading which you will more and more mark *his error*, who attempts to *assert the cause of heretics* against Christians and *against the Church of GOD*. For amongst other either *proud*, or *impertinent*, or *inconsistent* remarks, which he has written *rashly* and *improvidently* etc. . . . But what *blindness of mind* is it, what *perverseness*, to refuse to recognise *the unity of the faith* coming from GOD the Father and the tradition of JESUS CHRIST our LORD and GOD ! . . . Why has the *harsh obstinacy* of our Brother Stephen burst forth to such a degree ? . . . Does he give honor to GOD, who, the *friend of heretics* and the *enemy of Christians*, deems the priests of GOD, maintaining the truth of CHRIST and *the unity of the Church*, worthy of *excommunication* ?

Now only think of the fairness of quoting such a man as proving the modern ultramontane Papacy, when, without the slightest hesitation or compunction, he declares that the Pope is capable of "error;" that he "asserts the cause of heretics against the Church of God;" that he is "proud," "impertinent," and writes "rashly and improvidently;" that he has such "blindness of mind," and such "perverseness," that he "refuses to recognize the *unity of the faith*;" that he is guilty of "harsh obstinacy;" that he is the "friend of heretics" and "the enemy of Christians," while those whom *he excommunicates* are "maintaining the truth of CHRIST and the *unity of the Church*." Not

much Ultramontanism *there!* But it suits Anglicans *exactly*.

And how did the African Church behave under this sentence of excommunication? Did they consider themselves at once cast out of the Unity of the Church, and "bereft of every shred of Divine jurisdiction?" Anything but that! They received it with about as much of respect as our General Convention would receive a similar document. S. Cyprian convened another Council out of three Provinces, eighty-five Bishops attending, among whom were fifteen Confessors, besides Priests and Deacons and a great number of the laity. And in opening this Council S. Cyprian said:

It remains for us each to deliver our sentiments on this matter, judging no one, *nor removing any one*, if he be of a different opinion, from the *right of Communion*. For no one of us sets himself up to be a *Bishop of Bishops*, or by fear of his tyranny compels his colleagues to the *necessity of obedience*, since every *Bishop*, according to his *recognised liberty and power*, possesses a *free choice*, and *can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another*. But let us all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who *singly and alone* has the power both of *setting us up* in the government of His Church, and of *judging our proceedings*.

The eighty-five Bishops thereupon delivered their judgments *seriatim*, and unanimously stuck to their own previous decision, just as our General Convention would do under similar circumstances. The "excommunication" troubled *them* no more than it troubles *us*.

We cannot leave S. Cyprian without enjoying an-

other little bit of amusement, and seeing how the boasted "sayings of the Fathers" are sometimes gotten up by Roman advocates. On p. 46 of the "Rejoinder," Monsignor gives us the following, which we reproduce with his own italics and small capitals:

S. Cyprian, writing to the Pope S. Cornelius, says: "For this has been the very source whence heresies and schisms have taken their rise, that obedience is not paid to the Priest of GOD, nor do they reflect that there is for the time *one High Priest* in the Church, and *one Judge for the time in CHRIST's stead*; WHOM, IF THE WHOLE BROTHERHOOD WOULD OBEY ACCORDING TO THE DIVINE INJUNCTIONS, no one would stir in anything against the College of Prelates" (Ep. lix. 6)

The italics, and especially the small capitals, show the high value and authority which the Monsignor attaches to these words. He has taken it at second-hand, as so many others have done before him, and doubtless in good faith. But he is kind enough to commend to our study the works of the Rev. T. W. Allies, who, while yet a clergyman of the Church of England, made a "most elaborate and lengthened research of the Fathers on this very question." And we transcribe a *note* of Mr. Allies ("The Church of England Cleared, etc.," p. 39) on this very passage of S. Cyprian:

Of a passage in this letter [to Cornelius] De Maistre says ("Du Pape" liv. i., ch. 6): "Resuming the order of the most marked testimonies which present themselves to me on the general question, I find, first, S. Cyprian declare, in the middle of the third century, that heresies and schisms only existed in the Church, because all eyes were not turned toward the Priest of GOD, toward the Pontiff who judges in the Church *in the place of JESUS CHRIST*." A pretty strong testimony, indeed, and one

which would go far to convince me of the fact. Pity it is, that when one refers to the original, one finds that S. Cyprian is *actually speaking of HIMSELF*, and of the consequences of anywhere setting up in a See a schismatical Bishop against the true one! After this, who will trust De Maistre's facts without testing them? The truth is, he had taken the quotation at second-hand, and never looked to see to whom it was applied. It suited the Pope so admirably that it *must* have been meant for him. But I recommend no one to change their faith upon the authority of quotations which they do not test.

This is amusing enough! But if those words *meant* the modern Papal idea, when they were *thought* to be spoken of the Pope, why not let them mean the same thing—for surely the same words *ought* to mean the same thing—when spoken of S. Cyprian? Then we should have a clear testimony that the *Bishop of Carthage* was the “One High Priest,” the “one Judge in CHRIST’S stead,” whom “the whole brotherhood” must “obey according to the Divine injunctions.” And what could this be, but to make the *Bishop of Carthage* Pope, instead of the Bishop of Rome! But will any Roman controversialist give the words *this* meaning, as soon as he sees that they are spoken of S. Cyprian? Of course not! Words spoken of the Bishop of Rome are *interpreted in a different way* from the same words when spoken of any one else. If of the Bishop of Rome, they are magnified to the uttermost. If of anyone else, they are made to mean as little as possible. And without this *doubly* distorting process, no case for Rome can be made out from antiquity at all.

But to resume our sketch of the Cyprianic controversy. The African Church was excommunicated by

Rome, and paid no attention to it. How did the rest of the Church regard it? Did *they* consider that the Africans had ceased to be a part of the Catholic Church? Did *they* take for granted that these excommunicated Africans were now "bereft of every shred of the Divine jurisdiction?" Not in the slightest! S. Cyprian is evidently countenanced by S. Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and S. Basil the Great—the last-named acting as independently in the matter as if the Pope had made no decision at all. The position taken by S. Cyprian, as to the question of Jurisdiction, is justified later by S. Augustine also. But let us read some words written by S. Firmilian to S. Cyprian, and see how he not only speaks as freely about the Pope as S. Cyprian, but he turns the proof-text of Romanists against themselves:

What is *the error*, and how great *the blindness* of him [*i.e.*, the Pope] who says, remission of sins can be given in the meetings of heretics, nor remains in the foundation of the one Church which was once fixed by CHRIST upon the Rock, may be hence understood, because to Peter alone CHRIST said: Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; and, again, in the Gospel, when on the Apostles alone CHRIST breathed and said: Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose ye retain, they are retained. *Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the Apostles and the Churches, which they, being sent by CHRIST, set up, and to the Bishops who have succeeded them by ordination in their stead.* . . . And here I am justly indignant at this so *open* and *manifest folly* of Stephen, because, glorying as he does in the rank of his Episcopate, and maintaining that he holds the succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of



the Church were laid, he introduces many other rocks, and sets up new buildings of many Churches, while he affirms, *on his own authority*, that baptism is in them. . . . Nor does he perceive that the truth of the Christian Rock is clouded over by him, and in a manner abolished, who thus *betrays and deserts unity*.

But even this is not all. He has not the slightest hesitation in charging the Pope with "error" "and blindness," with "open and manifest folly" in deciding such a matter "on his own authority," and even tells him that he, the Pope, "*betrays and deserts Unity!*" Moreover, he thus apostrophises Pope Stephen himself, in words of fearful strength:

But thou art *worse than all heretics*; for whilst many, acknowledging their error, come to thee, thence to receive the true light of the Church, thou assistest the errors of those so coming. . . . Nor understandest that their souls will be demanded at thy hand when the day of judgment is come, who to the thirsting hast denied the Church's draught, and hast been the cause of death to those who would live. And, moreover, thou art indignant! See with what *ignorance* thou venturdest to censure those who strive for the truth against falsehood. For who had most right to be angry at another; he who *supports the enemies of God*, or he who argues for the *truth of the Church* against him who *supports God's enemies*? except that it is evident that the ignorant are also passionate and wrathful, whilst through lack of wisdom and discourse, they readily betake themselves to passion, so that it is of none other than *thee* that Holy Scripture says: "The passionate man prepares quarrels, and the wrathful man heaps up sins;" for *what quarrels and dissensions hast thou caused through the whole world!* But how great a sin hast thou heaped upon thyself, *when thou didst cut thyself off* from so many flocks; for *thou hast destroyed thyself*. Do not be deceived. Since *he* is the *true schismatic* who has *made himself an apostate* from the *Communion of the Church's oneness*; for while thou dost

*fancy that all can be excommunicated by thee, thou hast excommunicated thyself alone from all.*

Here a *Saint*—for Firmilian is reckoned a Saint as well as Cyprian, Dionysius, and Basil—tells a Pope that he is “worse than all heretics,” that he is “ignorant,” that he “supports God’s enemies,” that he has “caused quarrels and dissensions through the Churches of the whole world,” that he is a “true schismatic.” And as to his excommunication, instead of its severing the Africans from the unity of the Church, S. Firmilian tells Stephen that by it he has “*destroyed himself*”—has “made *himself* an apostate from the communion of the Church’s oneness.” He tells him that his power of excommunicating all others is only a “*fancy*,” while, by excommunicating the Africans he has “excommunicated *himself alone* from all.” How does *that* square with modern ultramontane notions? If any Metropolitan *now* should address such language to the Pope, what chance would he have to be *canonized*? Such language is about as much like ultramontaniam as noon is like midnight!

From all these extracts it is perfectly clear that the modern Roman notion that he who is not in communion with Rome is thereby, *ipso facto*, cut off from the unity of the Catholic Church, and “bereft of every shred of the Divine jurisdiction,” never so much as entered the heads of any one of these Saints. There were no such doctrines known in *their* day. They paid no more respect to the Pope’s excommunications than Anglicans do now. It is by no means certain that any reconciliation between Africa and

Rome took place before the martyrdom of S. Cyprian. If so, it was probably on the basis of each continuing its own custom until a General Council should decide (as it *was* afterward decided, and *then* Africa yielded). It is not at all clear that S. Cyprian was not still excommunicated when he died, a glorious martyr. But instead of being cut off from the Unity of the Church, he is a Father and a Saint, and his name appears still in the Roman Liturgy itself, *before* the name of Stephen, who excommunicated him, he also being a *Saint*. A beautiful symbol of the happy unity of holiness in which—hereafter—the sharpest ecclesiastical controversies of the day may be reconciled!

We cannot drop this controversy about rebaptizing heretics, however, without remarking how curiously “the whirligig of time brings about its revenges.” Stephen maintained that baptism with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, was *valid*, and was *not* to be *repeated* when a heretic thus baptized was received into the Church. S. Cyprian claimed that valid Baptism was given in the Church alone, and that all baptisms given *outside* of the Church were to go for nothing. Great Councils of the Church afterward ratified Stephen’s opinion, and it has been the law of the Church ever since. But in our day—though alleging a different reason—the *Roman* Clergy are generally *adopting that very practice of re-baptizing, for which Pope Stephen excommunicated S. Cyprian!* This is another very pretty proof of what they mean by *semper eadem!*

But let us take another famous case, that of S.

Meletius of Antioch. He was not in communion with Rome, the Pope giving his countenance and communion to the rival Bishop in Antioch, Paulinus. But was Meletius thought to be cut off from the Catholic Church, and "bereft of every shred of the Divine Jurisdiction?" The entire East would have laughed the idea to scorn! At the Second General Council, which met at Constantinople, and where there were assembled one hundred and fifty Bishops, with many Saints and Confessors among them, Meletius was actually *chosen to preside*! When, during the session, he died, we read that "the whole East mourned over his death; his body was carried in triumphal procession, with torches lighted and psalms sung, from Constantinople to Antioch, being borne within the walls of cities, by special law of the Emperor, contrary to the custom of the Romans." After his death, in spite of the earnest entreaties of S. Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, who *was* in communion with Rome, was *not* recognised, but Flavian was elected and consecrated, in strict accordance with the Canons. The Eastern Bishops write the following account of their proceedings to the Pope himself and other Westerns:

And those [the Bishops] both of the Province and of the Diocese of the East, being canonically assembled, the whole accordant Church as with one voice honoring the man, have elected the most reverend and religious Bishop Flavian to the *most ancient and truly Apostolical* Church of Antioch in Syria, where first the venerable name of Christian became known; which legitimate election the whole Synod hath received. But of the Church in Jerusalem, *the mother of all Churches*, we declare that the most reverend and religious Cyril is Bishop, both as long since canonically elected by those of his Province, and as

having struggled much against the Arians in different places. Whom, as being lawfully and canonically established *by us*, we invite your Piety also to congratulate, through spiritual love, and the fear of the LORD, which represses all human affection, and accounts the edification of the Churches more precious than sympathy with, or favor of, individuals.

Not the slightest shadow of a shade is there, in all this, of the notion that, to be in the Catholic Church at all, one must be in communion with the Pope of Rome ; or that *all* Bishops receive their jurisdiction *only* from the Pope.

Take another case, that of S. Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. He belonged to the opposite party in the Church from S. Chrysostom, and was naturally strongly prejudiced against him, took part in his condemnation, and was not willing to change his opinion concerning him. For their treatment of S. Chrysostom, Alexandria and Antioch and Constantinople were all excommunicated by the Pope of Rome. Did these three Patriarchates thereupon cease, *ipso facto*, to be parts of the Catholic Church, and “lose every shred of their Divine jurisdiction?” Not in the slightest ! After a while Constantinople and Antioch gave up the point of contest. But S. Theophilus was unyielding, kept up his opinion and his conduct unchanged, and *died excommunicated by the Pope of Rome*. Well, what of it ? Everything went on at Alexandria as if nothing had happened—just as it did at Canterbury ; and Theophilus is not only spoken of in the highest terms by contemporaries and those who came after, but he is quoted, says Tillemont, “in the Fifth (General) Council” with the title of “Saint” and “of

*blessed* memory ;” the Council of Myra in Lycia calls him a “Prince of the Orthodox and genuine Faith ;” and even a *Pope of Rome*, S. Leo, speaks of those “most excellent prelates, Athanasius, *Theophilus*, and, last of all, Cyril ;” while *another Pope*, Gelasius, approves the writings of “the blessed *Theophilus*.” S. Cyril, the nephew of S. Theophilus, who succeeded him as Bishop of Alexandria, remained *five years* out of the communion of Rome, rather than seem to reflect upon the course pursued by his honored uncle. But in those days nobody dreamed that such an ex-communication put *anybody* out of the unity of the Catholic Church. And it has just as little power *now*.

How, then, *were* people cast out of the Church in those days? It was not by the action of any *individual* Bishop, except within his own proper Diocese ; but by the power of the Episcopate *acting collectively*, in *Synods* and *Councils*, lawfully assembled.

Before going any further, however, let us first look a little into the *reason* of things. What is actually the basis of the argument of Rome is, the supposed necessity of some one head, to take away the occasion of schism. The one Emperor in the vast Roman Empire is the pervading idea which really rests at the bottom of this *assumption*. We call it a pure assumption, for there is *nothing* in Holy Scripture to justify it. Our LORD positively *forbade* that any one of the Apostles should have authority over the rest, —a fact which is, as a general thing, *totally ignored* by Roman controversialists, and by Monsignor Capel among the rest. The “Kingdom” was given to the Apostles *collectively*. The “sending” was addressed

to them all *collectively*. The abiding presence of Himself was promised to them all *collectively*, even until the end of the world, thus including their official successors, the Bishops. The gift of the HOLY GHOST was to abide with them *collectively* "forever," to give them strength and unity, and to guide them into all truth. This is the Divine plan for securing unity. The *worldly* plan would be—as in the Roman Empire—to have a *visible* Head for a visible Body to secure unity. The Divine plan gives a Spiritual unity, in one Brotherhood, for a Spiritual Kingdom. Our Roman friends ask us to believe that when our LORD *forbade* that any one of the Apostles should be exalted over the rest, he really *meant* that the Pope should be "adored" from the moment of his election! They ask us to believe that when our LORD gave the Kingdom to the Apostles *collectively*, He really *meant* to give it to S. Peter alone, "in its plenitude," and to all the rest *only* as being subject to him. They ask us to believe that when He promised to be with them, He *meant* that He would surely be present with S. Peter, and with the others *only* so long as they acknowledged their subjection to him. They ask us to believe that though, on the day of Pentecost, the HOLY GHOST descended upon *all* of them, yet none of the rest could be *sure* of the direction of the HOLY GHOST in anything concerning faith or morals, unless His words came through the lips of S. Peter. They ask us to believe that when Our LORD prayed "that they all may be one in us," He *meant* to say, "that they all may be one *in Peter*." In the treatise



of Bouix,\*—which may be called one of the present standard works, bearing on its forefront the special commendation of the author in a letter addressed to him by Pius IX. himself—we find the distinction between the two laid down with the utmost clearness, and with a full and logical sense of all the consequences :

If Canon law does not spring from the *sole* authority of the Roman Pontiff, and does not derive *from thence* the power of binding all the faithful of CHRIST, but rather flows from the *collective authority* of the chief pastors, that is, from the Bishops generally, together with the Chief Pontiff, it follows: *First*, that laws and constitutions issued by the Vicar of CHRIST alone do not constitute Canon law properly so called, but only acquire the force of Canon law when at the same time they are confirmed by the other chief pastors of the Church; *secondly*, that the Roman Pontiff, to whom it was said in the person of Peter, *Feed my lambs, Feed my Sheep*, cannot feed and rule the lambs, that is, the faithful of the Universal Church, and touch them with his Decrees, except in so far as *the whole body of the Bishops* at the same time decrees the same things; also, that he cannot feed the sheep, that is, the Bishops, unless *they themselves* may be willing to *bind themselves* by the decrees issued by the Chief Pontiff *concerning themselves*; it follows, *thirdly*, that pontifical constitutions issued for the Universal Church may be regarded by the Bishops as *not binding*, and therefore as *being null*, so long as they have not established them by *their own authority*, no matter how much the Pope may urge them, and may *fulminate his censures* against those who rebel; it follows, *fourthly*, and most manifestly, that *plenary power* of feeding, ruling and governing the Universal Church, to wit, the faithful and their pastors, *was not given by*

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\* Tractatus de Principiis Juris Canonici, auctore D. Bouix Theologiæ et Juris Utriusque Doctor. Editio Tertia. Paris, 1882.

*Christ to the Roman Pontiff* in the person of Peter, no matter how expressly the Œcumenical Council of Florence may have defined it. Hence, under the aforesaid definition, their lies hid the *total poison* of Gallicanism, Febronianism, Jansenism, *Anglicanism*, and, in one word, Schism.

Bouix is entirely correct in this—that last word, “*Schism*,” being from *his* point of view. It is the real issue between Anglicanism and Romanism. *We* say that the Church is built “upon the *Apostles* [plural] and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the head corner-stone.” *They* say that the Church is built upon the Pope of Rome for the time being.

Let us compare the two. First, we have the Apostles *as a body*. There is *no* evidence that any one of them was subject to any other of them. The first Canon of the most ancient body of Canons in the Christian Church—called the *Apostolical* Canons—requires that a Bishop shall be consecrated by two or three Bishops, thus recognizing the *collective* idea from the start, and the larger of these numbers, *three*, has been the express requirement of all subsequent canonical legislation on the subject. It has always been maintained in the Anglican Church, and in every branch of it to this day, though not so strictly in the Roman branch, nor has *any* Anglican consecration *ever* taken place with less than *three* Bishops uniting in the act. This gives a threefold guarantee of *validity* to every Bishop consecrated. It is an open and public guarantee. As each of the three consecrators must himself have been consecrated by three others, the second step has a *ninefold* guarantee, and so on by geometrical progression. This is somewhat reduced

by the same Bishop acting in two or more consecrations. It is, on the other hand, *increased* by the fact that very often four or more Bishops join in a consecration, thus greatly *multiplying* the threads of connection with the past. Take for instance the case of the present Bishop of Albany.\* He was consecrated by *five* Bishops, and, tracing up the lines of their consecrators, it will be found that every priest ordained by Bishop Doane combines in himself the transmission of the spiritual gift through no less than *sixty-nine* Bishops of the American Episcopate, including the whole of the four (*one* Scottish and *three* English) consecrations with which our American succession begins; and *besides* these includes *four* Bishops of the English and Colonial Churches—Spencer, Medley, Fulford, and Staley—besides the *three* Scottish and *six* English with whom our succession began, or *eighty-two* Bishops in all. And this is in less than one century. The same rule, having prevailed in every part of the Catholic Church from the beginning, must everywhere have produced the same result. It is as sure and as simple as the multiplication-table. It leaves no room for doubt.

Take our American Church, for instance. Is it conceivable that a man should be received by all the clergy and laity of a Diocese as a Bishop who had *never been consecrated?* and that, too, when the sole ground on which he *could* be received was that he *had* been consecrated! Is it *conceivable* that a man would be received into the House of Bishops, and sit

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\* The Bishop of Albany ordained the writer to the Priesthood.

and vote there unquestioned, while as yet he had *never been consecrated?* and that, too, when the sole right to a seat rested on the fact that he *had* been consecrated, and those among whom he sat *must* have certainly known whether *they* had consecrated him or not! And as these consecrations are things of *public local notoriety*, the stealing in of any unconsecrated man, and his universal recognition both by the clergy and laity of a Diocese, as well as by the House of Bishops, is a *moral impossibility*. The same is true of every Province and Provincial Synod in Christendom.

The *fact* of consecration, therefore, is as certain as any human event can be. And in every such consecration there is the *personal contact* of the *consecrators* and the *consecrated*, and each consecrator imparts to the consecrated that which *he himself already possesses*—a part in that One Episcopate of the Catholic Church, of which each validly consecrated Bishop has an undivided share. No one can say of such an act that the consecrators undertook to *give* what they *had not got themselves*. And the requirement of three or more consecrators in each consecration produces, not a single chain composed of single links, the failure of any *one* of which would break the line; but it gives a multitudinous web of validity, so wide-spreading and comprehensive that the loss of one thread here and there—even if it could be *proved* (as it can *not*)—would have no effect at all on the general result.

But see what a marvellous contrast to all this is found when we consider the Roman theory. Remember that it is a maxim which lies at the basis of

the whole Roman doctrine of jurisdiction, that "No one can give *what he has not got.*" Yet this very maxim, when closely examined, cuts up their own theory by the roots. For Monsignor tells us (in "Catholic," p. 23, first edition) that "the Apostles had *universal* jurisdiction directly from CHRIST." Yet our Roman friends will have it that none of these Apostles left any jurisdiction to his successors—the lines of Bishops whom they consecrated; but that S. Peter left the *entirety* of this *universal* jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome. Well, as all the Apostles had this universal jurisdiction directly from CHRIST, I suppose our Roman prelate will be good enough to leave them all in full possession of it at least as long as they lived. But S. Peter did not outlive all the rest! At the time when he was martyred, certainly *one*, and probably more than one, of the other Apostles were still alive. S. Peter, then, *could* not have taken away S. John's "universal jurisdiction," which S. John had "directly from CHRIST." S. John lived about *thirty years* after S. Peter was crucified with his head downward. S. Peter, therefore, *never* enjoyed "universal jurisdiction" in such a sense as to *exclude* from the same power all the other Apostles. As he did not possess such an exclusive power, he could not transmit it; for "no one can give what he has not got." Linus, Anacletus, Clement, and the other early Roman Bishops who were contemporary with S. John, never could have possessed any such exclusive power, any more than S. Peter before them. They *could* not—on Monsignor's own showing—have gotten it at all until the last of the original Apostles was dead. And who was to give it to them *then*?

The same maxim—that no one can give what he has not got—works the destruction of the Roman theory in yet another way. It is supposable that S. Peter, if he had it, might, before his death, have given it to Linus. But how was the *successor* of Linus to get it? If each Bishop of Rome himself consecrated his own successor, it would be conceivable that the power were transmitted. But that has never been done at Rome. It is contrary to the canonical system of the entire Catholic Church from the beginning. No Bishop of Rome either elects or consecrates his successor. No Bishop of Rome has ever had *any* Episcopate which was not given to him by those who were *not* Bishops of *Rome*, and whose Episcopate was therefore precisely the same as that of all the rest. In the earlier ages, he was always elected by the clergy and the Christian laity of the city of Rome, and he was consecrated by the Bishops of the Province, the Bishop of Ostia generally acting as Chief Bishop or Consecrator. In the year 1059 the right of election was transferred, by the Pope himself, to the body of Cardinals. Now, supposing this supreme jurisdiction is to be transmitted from S. Peter, *how* is it to be *done*? It must come through some one who *has* it, for “no one can give what he *has not got*.” It *could* not be transmitted through the other Bishops of the Province, because *they never had it*. Our LORD never said to the *Bishop of Ostia*, “Feed my lambs, Feed my sheep.” Nor did He say to the *Bishop of Ostia*, “Upon this Rock will I build my Church.” It *could* not be transmitted through the clergy and laity of Rome by their *election* of the new Bishop, for it is not claimed

that S. Peter left this power originally to the clergy and laity of Rome; and certainly our LORD never said to the clergy and laity of Rome, *Feed my lambs, Feed my sheep.* So *they* “could not give what they *had not got.*” And how are the Popes *now* to get it through the *Cardinals*? As they did not come in possession of the power till the year 1059, it is impossible that they could have gotten it from S. Peter much less from our LORD Himself. The change was a thousand years too late for that. As their power of election comes only from the Pope himself, it amounts to *nothing*; for, as the Pope had no power of choosing his own successor, he could not give such power to any one else, for “no one can give what *he has not got.*” Thus there is a *total solution of continuity* on *every* vacancy in the See of Rome. Instead of a chain of links interlaced with one another, it is a mere series of links no two of which can possibly be brought within touching distance!

This would be strong enough had the Roman succession of Popes run on without interruption in its usual channel through all the ages from Linus. But when we look into history we find that no one of the great Sees of Christendom has had such great and long-continued interruptions and gross scandals connected with its succession as the See of Rome. To allude to only a few of these—for one clear break in a chain of single links is as destructive as a thousand—what shall we say of the shameful Pornocracy at Rome? For about sixty years together, every Pope—Baronius acknowledging it—was intruded into the Roman See, without a valid or canonical election



of any one of them ; and the celebrated prostitutes—the two Theodoras and Marozia—were the power which thus thrust into the “See of Peter” their own paramours, sons or grandsons. Baronius says that their names are kept in the list only for chronological purposes ; but what, then, becomes of the sole foundation of spiritual jurisdiction in the whole Catholic Church ? Who will bridge over that gap of *sixty years* ? Who at the end of it was able to *give* to the next Pope what the giver himself *had never received* ?

Similar cases may be found in the Papal Schisms, when there were two or three claiming to be Popes at the same time, each anathematising the others with all his adherents, and declaring all his acts to be null and void.\* Then, again, *Simony* has power to vitiate an election. At the Roman Synod held by Gregory VII. in 1078, it was enacted (Canon V.) that “All simoniacal elections *are void, even without any formal judicial sentence*, and though the elected person may be wholly ignorant of the facts.” Now, the infamous Alexander VI., a Borgia—generally regarded as the climax of badness in Popes—not only, through his friend Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, *purchased* the votes by which he was elected, but also *sold* the Cardinalate openly during his pontificate, thus vitiating

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\* By the way, Monsignor asserts that “the act of resigning to the Crown, as the Archbishop does, is the *visible admission* that the source whence whatever authority the *Archbishop* has, comes from the Sovereign of England,” on the principle that all “resignations” are “made to a superior.” Then when Popes resigned to a General Council they thereby admitted the *superiority* of a General Council.

all subsequent elections. By strict Canon Law—*Roman* Canon Law—therefore, there has not been a valid Pope or Cardinal for nearly four hundred years! Nay, still worse! For it is the natural instinct of those who buy and sell votes for the Papacy to keep the thing secret. It is only in a peculiarly shameless case that it *can* be known. It *may* be happening—for all the Christian world may know—at *every* Papal election! And thus *nobody* can be *sure* of the validity of *any* Papal election! Yet we are asked to accept *this* as the *sole* fountain of spiritual jurisdiction from the beginning!

If, then, there is any force in the axiom that “no one can give to another a power which he himself does not possess”—and this principle is the essence of all *transmitted* power—the Roman theory is not only unhistorical as a matter of fact, but it is *impossible* as a matter of *principle*.

On the other hand, as we have seen, the true principle is embodied in the Apostolic Succession of the Episcopate *as a body*, each Bishop possessing *entire* the power which he transmits through the laying on of his hands, while the requirement of at least *three* consecrators so multiplies the assurances of a valid transmission, that all possible irregularities known in history are as drops in a bucket, leaving the direct transmission of spiritual authority by the entire Order, *unquestionable*.

Moreover, the question as to whether the Church is founded upon the *Pope* or upon the *Bishops of the Church* as a body, admits of so plain an answer from antiquity that it shines forth clearly even from the

quotations given from the Fathers by Monsignor Capel himself. S. Cyprian, as quoted by him, says : . . . "there is one Church from CHRIST throughout the whole world, divided into many members, and *one Episcopate diffused throughout an harmonious multitude of many Bishops,*" etc. S. Pacian, as quoted by him, after mentioning our LORD's promise to S. Peter, adds : "He spake *to one*, that from one he might lay the foundation ; afterward delivering the *very same* command *in common to all.*" Dr. Pusey's note on Tertulian, which Monsignor quotes, thus defines S. Cyprian's teaching about S. Peter's being the Rock : . . . "the authority he speaks of as derived through him *to all Bishops*, so that *the Church is placed on the Bishops.*" And finally, the "last sentence," says Monsignor, "expresses fairly accurately the Roman Catholic teaching ;" and that last sentence is as follows :

The words were pronounced to S. Peter by virtue of the true Faith in CHRIST which he had just confessed ; he was a rock by reason of his union with the Rock ; that Faith in CHRIST as the Son of GOD was his stability, and that of the Church afterward, and of those who at any time were pillars of the Church.

If *this* be the "fairly accurate Roman Catholic teaching," then *every* one who has "the true faith in CHRIST," *every* one who is in "union with the Rock," *every* one who "at any time" is a "pillar of the Church," is as much of a Rock as S. Peter himself. *Every* such one, therefore, has the plenitude of power, and is the sole fountain of Spiritual jurisdiction to the whole Catholic Church throughout the world ! But we hardly think that this definition will pass as "fairly accurate" at the Vatican !

Again, the Monsignor quotes S. Cyprian as saying, after the usual reference to "Thou art Peter":

Thence the ordinations of Bishops and the ordering of the Church runs [*sic*] down along the course of time and line of succession, so that the Church *is settled upon her Bishops*, and every act of the Church is *regulated by these same prelates*.

The Roman theory would have required him to draw the inference the other way, namely, that the Church was settled upon the *Pope of Rome*, and that every act of the Church is regulated by that same *Pope of Rome*.

Again, alluding to S. Cyprian, he speaks of "the authority *derived* through Peter *to all Bishops*." Well, we contend that if the power has been derived through Peter *to all Bishops*, it is as clear as daylight that *all Bishops have it!* If S. Peter had given it *only* to the Bishops of *Rome*, it would be the other thing!

Again, Monsignor himself says: "Not by delegated or vicarious power, but by the HOLY GHOST, do Bishops rule in the Church of GOD as the successors, not of individual Apostles, but of the Apostolic College," which is truly Catholic and Anglican doctrine; but he spoils it by putting the Roman addition, that "this Episcopal jurisdiction is plainly subordinate to the Apostolate"—that is, the Papacy. Cardinal Hergenrother, also, tries to maintain the ancient doctrine of the One Episcopate, but only with the modern Roman "rider:"

The Episcopal power of jurisdiction is therefore not derived immediately from CHRIST, in so far as it exists in individuals; it has been *established by CHRIST*, but is not conferred immedi-

ately by Him upon individual Bishops; it is imparted to them by the Head of the Church, or Bishops whom He has authorized. *Thus the Unity of the Episcopate, so much insisted on by the Fathers*, is fully upheld (!); the Holy See is head, root, spring, and origin of the spiritual authority.

Nay, so ingrained into the thought and speech of all antiquity is this *Collective Unity of the Episcopate* as the reservoir of Spiritual power on earth, that the Vatican decree of 1870 itself cannot ignore it. It gives at the last the Roman twist, of course, but there lies imbedded in it—like a lifeless fossil in the Old Red Sandstone—the *verbal* statement of the old idea about the Bishops:

So far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being any prejudice to the *ordinary and immediate power of Episcopal Jurisdiction*, by which Bishops who have been *sent by the HOLY GHOST to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles* feed and govern *each his own flock as true pastors*, that this their Episcopal authority is strengthened by the Supreme and Universal Pastor.

Now the flavor of true antiquity is so strong in the *italicised* words of this passage, that it justifies us in making the point we have already made against Monsignor's definition of jurisdiction. But as to whether all this is "strengthened" by the modern Roman absolute monarchy, according to which each Bishop is at the mercy of the Pope, that is quite another matter! Let the answer on *that* point be given by the entire Episcopate of France, whose sees the Pope summarily suppressed only to please Napoleon, requiring them all to resign those sees whether or no, and *depriving*, without synod or trial of any kind, all who refused to resign! If that be "*strengthening*," what is *destroying*?

The clearest demonstration of the constitution of the Primitive Church, however, is not to be found by gathering together, from the writings of individuals, all the complimentary phrases or epithets bestowed upon the most powerful See in Christendom, and ignoring everything else. That a primacy of honor was willingly accorded by all to the Bishop of Rome is freely acknowledged. That the primacy of influence was his also is equally clear. No Anglican writer of any standing denies it. That the patriarchate over which he presided was so large and important that, generally, without its acceptance no action was accounted Œcumenical, is a matter of course; but the same rule made the acquiescence of the East equally indispensable, and *that* did not make *the East* supreme over the whole Church. The favorite plan with Roman controversialists is to quote all the passages that refer to the Primacy, and then *take for granted* that they prove *the Supremacy*, which is a *totally* different thing. This is what the famous Bossuet says on the subject, who lived and died in communion with Rome; and we give it as imbedded in a quotation from that same Mr. Allies, whose researches “while yet a clergyman of the Church of England, on this very question,” Monsignor Capel so cordially commends to our study. Allies says:

Roman Catholic writers, in defending the Papal Monarchy from the remains of antiquity now allowed to be genuine, instead of being able, clearly and historically, without subterfuge and ingenious expedients, to prove their doctrine, are reduced to the predicament which one of their own Communion thus expresses:—‘If the question be concerning the Pope’s Supremacy, he diligently collects from Councils and the holy

Fathers the strongest proofs for the Pope's *Primacy*, which *Primacy was not in discussion*. If the Papal infallibility be controverted, he writes out those passages in which the Councils and holy Fathers have expressed high and reverential feelings about the First See, though they *were not acquainted* with its infallibility.' Those who use such a mode of arguing do not find it difficult to get the patronage of the holy Fathers for their errors. Yet how *easy it is to see* that they *nefariously abuse their abilities*,\* and violate faith with the public, and religion itself. Yet thus did Bellarmine, and whatever other adversaries the Gallican doctrine found.

Mr. Allies continues :

Others, again, remind one, I am constrained to say, of that celebrated feat in which a single rider vaults alternately from one horse to another at full speed. He rides both, but keeps fast to neither, showing his skill by the dexterity with which he changes his position. Just so they manage the Papal and the Patriarchal power of the Roman Bishop.

And, after enlarging on this, he says :

It is hard, certainly, to be convinced by those who take up such a line as this. Fully aware as I am that it is a question of salvation, I am not at all persuaded by their mode of proceeding : nay, I have to struggle against a continual feeling of *bad faith in those who pursue it*, which I am most loath to impute to any. But, *if inexorable history would allow them to be honest*, surely they injure their own cause; as ours has been injured by concealing the original and legitimate power of the Roman Bishop as occupant of the first, and that S. Peter's, Sec.\*

The admirable work from which this extract is taken, Mr. Allies utterly failed to answer, when—upset by the Gorham decision—he went over to the

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\* Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism. Pp. 341, 2.



Church of Rome himself. Notwithstanding his personal inconsistency, his *history* continues to be *history*, and the correctness and honesty of his quotations has never been impugned. And while on the subject of unfairness in the working up of historical evidence, it may be well to give a quotation or two from the Rev. Edmund S. Ffoulkes, from a work written by him while he was yet in full communion with Rome. He is speaking of the positions maintained by the Greeks in their great controversy with the Latins, at the Council of Florence, and he says :

Too often, it must be confessed, they were sought to be answered or evaded by *assertions* which were *not fact*, and *authorities* that were *not genuine*. Thus we are brought to a phase in the controversy which no Western, it is to be hoped, in modern times will ever look back to without unfeigned regret and shame. The two great questions on which the controversy between the East and West turned, were, the Procession of the HOLY GHOST and *the Papacy*. On *both*, the West has been *convicted*, by modern criticism, of having sought to establish the positions on which it insisted, by means of *such volumes of forged or spurious evidence* as would *damn any cause forever irrecoverably, Christian or pagan*, could it also be proved to have been used, *knowingly*, that it *was* what it has since turned out to be. It would be difficult, in short, to name any *secular* controversy where *so much utterly worthless testimony* had been adduced in favor of the points sought to be proved, etc.

To Bossuet, Allies, and Ffoulkes we leave the pretended array of patristic authorities, of which Monsignor makes so much; but before quitting this branch of our subject, we would allude to some things which Roman controversialists are pretty sure to skip, with great unanimity.

S. Paul says: . . . "beside that which cometh upon *me* daily, the *care of all the Churches*." If S. Peter had said that, we should never have heard the last of it, as a conclusive proof that "*all spiritual jurisdiction*" had been given to the Pope of Rome from the beginning. But as it was only S. Paul who said it, it goes for—nothing! It rather *seems* to prove, however, that "*all spiritual jurisdiction*" was not given to S. Peter, and therefore *could* not have been transmitted by him to the Bishops of Rome. Other points might easily be named, which would have made the *show* of Scriptural proof incomparably stronger, had they only built the Papacy on S. Paul rather than on S. Peter. But let us take a few cases from history.

Our readers will not have forgotten the words (already quoted) which Monsignor copies from S. Cyprian, with italics and small capitals, thinking that they refer to the Pope, and must therefore prove the Supremacy. But when he finds that those strong words refer only to S. Cyprian, will he, or any Roman controversialist, give the same exalted interpretation to them *then*? By no means!

Take another case. S. Basil the Great writes to the Bishop of a great See:

That the Church of Antioch be well ordered, manifestly depends upon *your piety*: to manage some, to quiet others, and to restore strength to the Church by agreement. For you yourself know better than any one can tell you, that, like the most skilful physicians, you must begin the cure with the most vital parts. And what can be more vital than Antioch to the Churches of the *whole world*? If this could be restored by con-

cord, nothing prevents but that, as a strong and healthy *head*, it should procure soundness to the *whole body*.

Now if *Rome* had thus been spoken of as the "head" to "the whole body," and as "vital" to "the Churches of the whole world," we should have seen it constantly quoted as a proof of *Roman* Supremacy. But as it is only *Antioch*, nothing is made of it. And the Bishop to whom S. Basil is writing is *not* the Bishop of Rome, but the Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Again, S. Basil, writing to another Bishop, says:

Inform me constantly of your affairs, and *undertake the care of the universal Brotherhood* with the same tenderness and the same zeal which that most blessed man showed to all that love God in truth.

These words are not written to the Bishop of *Rome*. If they were, it would have been a famous text to prove the sole jurisdiction of the See of Peter over "the universal brotherhood." But as they are only said to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, they go for nothing. And "that most blessed man" who had "the care of the universal brotherhood" previously, was S. Athanasius, Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Again, S. Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of a great Bishop, says:

Having gone through the whole *suite* of sacred offices, . . . he is entrusted with the presidency over the people, which is the same as saying, with *the rule of the whole world*. And I cannot say whether he received the priesthood as the reward of his virtue, or to be *the source and life of the Church*.

If these words—having "the rule of the whole

world," and being "the *source* and *life* of the Church"—do not assert Supremacy and the one vital fountain of all jurisdiction, what *do* they mean? As they only refer to S. Athanasius, who was never Bishop of Rome, but only of Alexandria, *of course* they only mean a rhetorical compliment, and have nothing to do with Canon law!

Again, a great and sainted Father writes:

This dignity, in which I now am, makes *all* my adopted children.

If a Bishop of Rome had said this, what would it not prove? But it is said only by the Bishop of Cæsarea! Of this same S. Basil, Tillemont writes:

S. Basil's actions show him to us, I say, not as a particular Bishop, or a mere Metropolitan, or as Exarch or Patriarch of several Provinces, but as a Saint who enjoyed the Episcopate in *full possession*, without wronging the authority of his brethren, who did not limit his charity to his jurisdiction, but, regarding himself as *successor of the Apostles*, as *Bishop of all the Churches*, extended his cares everywhere where the name of JESUS CHRIST extended, and considered *all* Christians as *his own people*, since he carried them all in his heart.

What more would Monsignor Capel wish to have said of the Pope? And yet these words are written by a Roman Catholic historian concerning a Bishop of *Cæsarea*—one who was not even a Patriarch! S. Chrysostom, too, writes of a certain Bishop, that he not only took good care of his own Diocese, "but sent abroad *in all directions* men to instruct, exhort, converse, defend the approach against the enemy (the Arians). . . . For well had he been instructed

by the grace of the Spirit, that it is the duty of one set over a Church not only to provide for that which has been entrusted to him by the SPIRIT, but for *the whole Church throughout the world*. And this he learnt from the sacred prayers. 'For if,' said he, 'we should offer prayers for the Catholic Church from one end of the earth to the other, much more must we shew our vigilance for the whole of it, and care alike for *all Churches*, and be solicitous for *all*.' " And this was said, not of a Bishop of Rome, but only a Bishop of Antioch—S. Eustathius.

S. Basil once more writes to a great Bishop:

Most other men have enough to do to look after what is under their own charge, whereas this is not sufficient for you, who have as great solicitude for *all the Churches*, as for that, the burden of which in particular has been laid upon you by our common LORD. This may be said, since you are incessant in conversing, admonishing, writing letters, sending persons *in all directions* with the best suggestions. . . . And wishing to contribute something to this matter myself, I thought it would be a most suitable beginning to recur to your perfection, *as to the supreme Head*, and to take you for counsellor and leader.

. And yet this "*Supreme Head*" is only the Bishop of Alexandria, and *not* the Bishop of Rome! Any number of similar places might be quoted. *All* the ancient Bishops felt themselves responsible for doing what was in their power to protect the integrity of the Faith *everywhere*, and to remove any scandals which threatened or disturbed the peace of the Church. And of course this responsibility was felt the most strongly by those whose prominent and powerful Sees gave them the greatest influence. *Out-*

*side* of these disturbing causes, the regular administration of Church work and discipline went on with the *universal* admission that all Bishops are equal. A Bishop of Rome himself has expressed this with admirable clearness. S. Gregory the Great says, speaking of his own See:

I know not what Bishop is not subject to it, *if any fault be found in Bishops*. But *when no fault requires it all are equal* according to the estimation of humility.

And these words were written when the Bishop of Rome had made great strides upward in claiming undue power for his See.

And now let us turn to the fundamental and overwhelming proof that the *collective* idea, not the monarchical, is the true rule of the ancient Catholic Church. This is to be found in her *written Canons*. These were the universally acknowledged *laws* of Church government. They cannot be upset by quoting phrases from letters, or books, or *any other documents whatever*, written by *individuals*, no matter how high their position or how great their fame. When the Constitution of the United States plainly states *the law*, it is idle to quote from letters or papers or speeches of Jefferson or Madison or Webster or Clay, to show that the Constitution does not mean what it says; or that the most important principle of all, underlying all the rest, has been *entirely left out!* So universally was the obligation of the Canons acknowledged, that for ages the Popes themselves constantly urged it, as the ground of their interference, that they were bound to see that *the Canons* were obeyed.

S. Leo, of Rome, uses the following noble language to the Emperor:

The privileges of the Churches, instituted by the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable Nicene Synod, *cannot be plucked up by any wickedness, or changed by any innovation.* In the faithful execution of which work, by the help of CHRIST, *I am bound to show persevering service ;* since the dispensation has been entrusted to me, and it tends to my guilt if the *rules of the Fathers' sanctions*, which were made in the Nicene Council for *the government of the whole Church*, by *the teaching of GOD'S SPIRIT*, be violated—which GOD forbid—by *my connivance.*

And to the Empress he writes in a similar strain:

Since *no one* is allowed to attempt anything against the Statutes of the Fathers' *Canons*, which many years ago were based on spiritual decrees in the *City of Nicæa* ; so that if any one desires to decree anything against them, he will rather *lessen himself* than injure *them.* And if these are kept uninjured, as it behooves, by *all Pontiffs*, there will be *tranquil peace and firm concord through all the Churches.* There will be *no dissensions* concerning the degree of honors; *no contests* about ordinations; *no doubts* about privileges; *no conflicts* about the *usurpation of another's right* ; but under the equal law of charity both men's minds and duties will be kept in the due order.

And, again, to Anatolius he writes :

Those holy and venerable Fathers, who in the Nicene city established laws of *ecclesiastical Canons*, which are to last till the *end of the world*, when the sacrilegious Arius with his impiety was condemned, live both with us and in the whole world by their constitutions; and if *anything anywhere* is presumed upon, contrary to what *they* appointed, it is *without delay annulled.*

Golden words ! Compare this with the statement of Bouix as to the sole source of Canonical Law, and



it will be seen at once that S. Leo, on *that* point, is a thorough Anglican! If the Popes of Rome would only fairly and fully go back to S. Leo's ground, as stated above, all the great breaches of Christian brotherhood would be healed within one generation!

But even when the Popes first began to go beyond this, they did it, not by claiming that their own decrees had in themselves the force of Canons—it was some centuries before they came to *that*! Their first step was much more modest, though by no means ingenuous. They claimed that certain Canons were of Œcumenical authority, which really were not so; and, still later, they claimed that *Canons* gave them the authority they wished to exercise, when the *fact* was that no such Canons had ever been passed. It was, however, a substantial confession that *the Canons* were the only imaginable foundations for *any* such exercise of power.

If we look over the *modern* body of Roman Canon Law, we shall *not* find that there is a *total omission* of all allusion to the universal power of the Pope. In the ancient Canons, however, we find just such a *total omission*. Yet Roman controversialists ask us to believe that *both* mean the same thing!

But first let us examine what is meant by jurisdiction. Monsignor Capel says:

Ordination does not make a man *Assistant* Bishop, or Bishop of *New York*, or *Archbishop*: it only makes him Bishop. The power to have charge of souls in a Diocese, or to have authority over suffragan Bishops of a Province, comes not from ordination, but by appointment.

This is perfectly correct. And this “appointment,”

as S. Thomas Aquinas expresses it, is *ex simplici injunctioe hominis, of purely human authority*. Now when a vacancy occurred in ancient times, the clergy and laity of the vacant See commonly went into an election of a proper person to fill it. The metes and bounds of that Diocese had already been settled "by purely human authority." *That* fixed the identity of the particular charge to be confided to the new Bishop. The other Bishops of the Province to which that See belonged—either present at the time or acting afterward—passed upon the election. Without their consent, or that of a majority of them with their Metropolitan, nothing further could be done. When they consented, the Consecration took place, and the work was complete—the See was filled. Unless within the immediate province of Rome, the Pope had no more to do with it than the Czar of all the Russias. All the arrangements settling the lines of *jurisdiction* were preliminary, and only *inchoate*, amounting to nothing *positive* until Consecration gave them fulness of power. They resembled the work that needs to be done in preparing for the casting of a bell. Unless the mould is duly prepared, of the proper size and shape, and arrangements rightly made for the transmission into it of the molten metal, no bell can be manufactured. Yet all these arrangements are *nothing*, so far as a bell is concerned, unless and until the molten bell-metal flows in. In *that* act the limitations previously fixed in the mould are transferred to the metal in the very act of casting, and the bell—of the determined size and weight—is complete. Now *all* that precedes the *act* of Conse-

cration—the Diocesan limits, the selection of the individual, the confirmation by the other Bishops, the order taken by the Metropolitan—all these are of the jurisdiction. But they amount to *nothing* unless Consecration actually takes place. (In later ages a Bishop-elect, when confirmed by the proper authority, could perform—even before his Consecration—such acts as a Cathedral Chapter could perform during a vacancy. But this is a trifle which touches no *principle*.) The act of Consecration *itself* gave him full Episcopal power within the limits of his jurisdiction.

The confirmation and ordination of Bishops is thus provided for in Canon IV. of the General Council of Nicæa:

It is by all means proper that a Bishop should be appointed by all the Bishops in the Province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages being taken, those of the absent [Bishops] also being communicated in writing, then the ordination should be made. But in *every* Province the ratification of what is done should be left *to the Metropolitan*.

Here there is not a word about the Pope, nor any space left within which his action would be *possible*. The Bishops of the Province *alone* are to *act*. And the “ratification of what is done” is “left to the Metropolitan” of the Province, and *not* to the Pope of Rome.

So again in Canon VI. of the same great Council we find some exceptions made to this rule in regard to the three great Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and An-

tioch. In all these *custom* had already brought about the grouping of *several* Provinces around each of these three great centres, thus forming what were afterward called Patriarchates :

Let the ancient customs prevail in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; so that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these Provinces, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other Provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges. And this is to be *universally* understood, that, if any one be made Bishop *without the consent of the Metropolitan*, the Great Synod has declared that such a man ought not to be a Bishop. If, however, two or three Bishops shall, from natural love of contradiction, oppose the common suffrage of the rest, it being favorable, and according to the Canon of the Church, then let the choice of the majority prevail.

Now these exceptions are expressly based upon *custom*, and not upon *inherent transmitted right*. *Custom* had given a certain jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome over the Provinces in his immediate vicinity. The same "ancient customs" had given to the Bishops of Alexandria a certain jurisdiction over Lybia and Pentapolis—adjoining countries to the west. The same "ancient customs" had done the like for the Bishop of Antioch. And yet, even while ratifying these "customs" with canonical authority, the Canon *expressly reasserts* the rights of the *Metropolitans* even in those associated or subordinated Provinces. It "is to be *universally* understood, that if anyone be made Bishop without the consent of *the Metropolitan*, the Great Synod *has declared* [to wit, in Canon IV.] that such a man ought not to be a Bishop." The *general principle* is laid down as a matter of *fundamental*

*law*, and that which was only "custom," no matter how ancient, could not, and should not, abrogate it. Now if, instead of "Metropolitan," the Canon read that no one should be made Bishop "without the consent of the *Pope of Rome*," it would suit our Roman friends exactly. But there is not a word by which it would appear that the Bishop of Rome had any more power than the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch; and it is clear that the rising power of *all three* rested *only* on "custom." Of any power of "sole jurisdiction over the whole Church Catholic" transmitted from S. Peter to the Bishops of Rome alone, there is nothing more said in the Nicene Canons than there is in the "Digest" of our American Church.

So clear is the meaning of this Nicene Canon, that Hefele—a Bishop who, since 1870, has swallowed the Vatican decrees, though with a wry face—in commenting on this Canon, says, "that the Latins interpreted it as though it determined these two points only: (a) that for the *ordination* of a Bishop three Bishops at least are necessary; (b) that the right of *confirmation* rests with the *Metropolitan*." He goes on to say, with unmistakable correctness and candor: "In the Latin Church this right of confirmation PASSED, in *course of time*, from the *Metropolitans* to the *Pope*, particularly by the concordats of Aschaffenburg." This gives away the Papal theory *completely*. These concordats were not made "in the beginning." They were crafty bargains made, by Kings and Popes, for dividing between themselves the original rights of Clergy and People, of Provincial Synods and

Metropolitans. The Kings took the power of Clergy and People in choosing their Bishops: and the Pope took the power of Synod and Metropolitan. And each august plunderer maintained that his new power was Divine. One was a part of the "divine right of Kings." The other is a part of the "divine jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome." And one was just about as "divine" as the other!

Canon XIX. of Antioch tells the same story as that of Nicæa at a little greater length:

A Bishop shall not be ordained without a Synod and the presence of the Metropolitan of the Province. And when he is present, it is by all means better that all his brethren in the Ministry of the Province should assemble together with him; and these the Metropolitan ought to invite by letter. And it were better that all should meet; but if this be difficult it is by all means necessary that a majority should be present, or take part by letter, in the election, and that thus the appointment should be made in the presence, or with the consent of the majority; but if it should be done contrary to these decrees, the ordination shall be of no force. And if the appointment shall be made according to the prescribed Canon, and any should object through natural love of contradiction, the decision of the majority shall prevail.

Here there is not the slightest hint at anything to be said or done by any one outside of the Province and its own Metropolitan. So, too, Canon XII. of Laodicea, more tersely:

Bishops are to be appointed to the ecclesiastical government by the judgment of the Metropolitans and neighboring Bishops, after having been long proved both in the foundation of their faith and in the conversation of an honest life.

Here, too, there is *nothing* about any authority to

be exercised beyond that of the Metropolitan and the neighboring Bishops.

The Canons of the General Council of Constantinople set forth the same principle of local self-government very distinctly. In Canon II. we read :

The Bishops of a Diocese are not to invade Churches lying outside of their bounds, nor bring confusion on the Churches ; but let the Bishop of Alexandria, according to the Canons, *alone* administer the affairs of Egypt ; and let the Bishops of the East manage the East *only*, saving the privileges of the Church in Antioch, which are mentioned in the Canons of Nicæa ; and let the Bishops of the Asian Diocese administer the Asian affairs *only* ; and the Pontic Bishops *only* Pontic matters ; and the Thracian Bishops *only* Thracian affairs. And let not Bishops go beyond their Diocese for ordination or any other ecclesiastical administration, unless they be invited. And the aforesaid Canon concerning Dioceses being observed, it is evident that the *Synod of every Province* will administer the affairs of *that particular Province*, as was decreed at Nicæa. But the Churches of GOD in heathen nations must be governed according to the custom which has prevailed among their forefathers.

No “universal jurisdiction” of the Pope of Rome can be found in *that* Canon ! And Canon VIII. of the General Council of Ephesus proves that *all* Dioceses and Provinces were not included in the Patriarchates. Cyprus was under no Patriarch, but had *only* her own Metropolitan. The Bishop of Antioch had attempted to annex that Province to his own Patriarchate, and had held ordinations there. The Council therefore decided (Canon VIII.) that—

. . . the Rulers of the Church in Cyprus shall enjoy, without dispute or injury, according to ancient custom and the Canons of the blessed Fathers, the right of *performing for themselves* the ordination of their excellent Bishops. The same rule



shall be observed in the other Dioceses and Provinces *everywhere*, so that *none* of the most religious Bishops shall assume control of *any* Province which has not heretofore, from the very beginning, been under his own hand or that of his predecessors. But if any one has violently taken and subjected [a Province], *he shall give it up*; so that the Canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed; nor the vanities of worldly honor be brought in under pretext of Sacred Office; nor *we lose*, little by little, and *at length forget*, the *liberty* which our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Deliverer of all men, hath given us by His own Blood. Wherefore, this Holy and Œcumenical Synod has decreed that, in *every* Province, the rights which heretofore, from the beginning, have belonged to it, shall be preserved to it, according to the old prevailing custom, unchanged and uninjured; every Metropolitan having permission to take, for his own security, a copy of these Acts. And if any one shall bring forward a rule contrary to what is here determined, this Holy and Œcumenical Synod *unanimously decrees that it shall be of no effect*.

This is as clear as the noonday sun. It is *declared to be perpetual*. All contrary legislation (and this includes the entire modern Papal system) is *unanimously* decreed to be "*of no effect*." This justifies the Anglican position *completely*.

The Council of Chalcedon not only declares, in Canon I., "that the canons of the Holy Fathers made in every Synod, even until now, should remain in force," but it also adds a prohibition of delay in the filling of vacant Sees. In Canon XXV. it "decrees that the ordinations of the Bishops *shall* take place *within three months*, unless an inevitable necessity should some time require the term of delay to be prolonged. And if the [Metropolitan] shall not do this, he shall be liable to ecclesiastical penalties."

Now, if we subtract the time necessary for the election and confirmation of the Bishop-elect, and the distance of many of the Sees of the then Catholic Church from Rome, and the difficulties and dangers of travel, it will be seen that to apply to Rome within the time named would be impossible *in fact*; just as impossible as to find anything about Rome in *the words* of the Canon itself. In the presence of such Canons the Roman claim is mere moonshine!

But there is another and most important branch of this business of jurisdiction which remains to be considered; and that is, not so much the *giving* the power, as rather the controlling it afterward, or taking it away altogether, by the disciplinary authority of the Church, when heresy or schism or evil life makes it requisite for the good of the flock.

And here we meet, at the outset, the principle that those who gave can also take away that which they gave. The *collective* idea prevails here, as in the Consecration of Bishops, and the making of Canons. No *one* Bishop could be disciplined by any other *one* Bishop. But every erring Bishop was first of all to be dealt with by *the Bishops of his own Province*. The dead silence in regard to any right of appeal to Rome is complete.

In the Apostolic Canons (Canon XXXVII.) we find the old law for the meeting of the Provincial Synod twice in each year:

Twice in the year let a Synod of the Bishops be held; and let them *mutually examine each other* concerning the doctrines of religion; and *let them settle the ecclesiastical disputes that have arisen.*

And again (in Canon LXXIV.) we read:

If a Bishop be accused of anything by trustworthy men, it is necessary that he be summoned *by the Bishops*; and that, if he appear and confess, or be convicted, *they* should *determine the penalty*. But if he be summoned, and will not obey, let two Bishops be sent to him, and let him be summoned a second time. And if he will not then obey, let two Bishops be again sent to him, and let him be summoned the third time. And if he shall even then despise [the summons], and will not appear, let the Synod pronounce against him *what they think right*, that he may not evidently be a gainer by avoiding a trial.

That is the whole. Not the slightest syllable about a particle of revisory or appellate power *anywhere*.

In Canon VI. of the General Council of Constantinople, after declaring what persons may make accusation against Bishops—

. . . the Holy Synod bids them first to lay their charges before *all the Bishops of the Province*, and before them to prove the accusations, whatsoever they may be, which they have brought against the Bishop. And if it should come to pass that the Provincials should be unable rightly to settle the charges brought against the Bishop, then the parties must betake themselves to a greater Synod of the Bishops of that Diocese, called together for this purpose. . . . And if any one, despising what has been decreed concerning these things, shall presume to annoy the ears of the Emperor, or the courts of temporal judges, or, dishonoring all the Bishops of his Province, shall dare to trouble an Œcumenical Synod, such a one shall by no means be admitted as an accuser; forasmuch as he has cast contempt upon the Canons, and brought reproach upon the order of the Church.

Now this is most instructive and significant. Every accusation against a Bishop is to be tried, first, by

the Bishops of the Province, as from the beginning. If this is not decisive, a greater Synod of the same *Diocese* [meaning what we commonly call a *Patriarchate*, or union of several Provinces] is to decide. And what *next*? The Pope of Rome? Oh, no! Not an idea of the sort seems to have passed through the minds of the Fathers of Constantinople. Accusers *might* go to the Emperor, or to the civil courts, or to an Œcumenical Council; but to *the Pope*? Never! And yet this very Canon was among those *approved* by the then Bishop of Rome!

At the Council of Chalcedon a step further was taken in the way of providing remedies; but still there is not a syllable about any recourse to Rome. In Canon IX. we read:

If a clergyman have a complaint against his own or any other Bishop, let it be decided *by the Synod of the Province*. And if a Bishop or Clergyman should have a difference with the Metropolitan of the Province, let him have recourse to the Exarch of the Diocese [Patriarchate], or to the throne of the Imperial city of Constantinople, and there let it be decided.

So clear is this that distinguished Roman Catholic writers acknowledge it in the most express terms. Thomassin—to whom a Cardinal's hat was offered, but who in his humility shrank from it—says:

It is necessary to know that, up to the Council of Nicæa, *all ecclesiastical affairs* had been *terminated* in the Councils of *each Province*; and there had been but very few occasions in which it had been necessary to convoke an assembly of several Provinces. The Council of Nicæa, even, only speaks of *Provincial Councils*, and orders that *all things* should be *settled therein*.

De Marca, also, the learned Archbishop of Paris, says:

The better to understand the order of Episcopal *jurisdiction*, it is necessary beforehand to lay down that the Church *in the beginning* suited herself to the arrangement of the Roman Empire, and therefore appointed Bishops in the chief cities of each country, but assigned the first place and *the confirmation of everything* to the Bishop of the Metropolis of *the Province*, with the Council of his colleagues. Thus Episcopal *ordinations* and *Ecclesiastical judgments* took place by the Council of *each Province* with the authority of the *Metropolitan*, so that it *was not allowed to appeal* from the judgment passed in a *Provincial Council*.

Pope Julius himself, writing to the Eusebian Bishops in regard to the intrusion of Gregory the Arian into the See of Alexandria after Athanasius had been condemned by the Council of Tyre, says:

This appointment ought not to have been made thus illegally and contrary to the Canon of the Church ; but *the Bishops of the Province* ought to have *ordained one in that very Church*, of that very Priesthood, that very Clergy, and the Canons *received from the Apostles* ought not thus to be set aside. . . . Dearly beloved, we speak honestly, as in the presence of God, and declare that this proceeding was neither pious, nor lawful, nor ecclesiastical.

This is so clear that Mr. Allies adds:

Let us even rest *the whole question* on this important point, for it is *absolutely necessary to the Papal theory* ; and I do not think *any vestige* of such a doctrine can be found in *the first eight centuries*. At least let it be shown ; for, to *assert it*, in the face of *Canons* which imply, nay, *set forth palpably* a system *the very reverse* of it, is merely *begging the whole question*.

In the West there was no canonical foundation for any departure from the Nicene system of Provincial

Councils until the passage of the famous Canon of the Council of Sardica. This was intended to be a General Council, but turned out to be only a Western Synod. A great many troubles had arisen out of the question of Arianism, and some Provinces were much divided in opinion. The venerable Hosius said: "If a Bishop, having been condemned, feels so assured of his right that he is willing to be judged anew *in a Council*, let us honor, *if you think it good*, the memory of the Apostle S. Peter; let those who have examined the cause write to Julius, Bishop of Rome; if he thinks proper to order a fresh trial, let him name judges; if he does not think that there is reason to renew the matter, let what he orders be kept to." This was ordered with the following explanation, suggested also by Hosius:

When a Bishop, deposed by the Council of the Province, shall have appealed and had recourse to the Bishop of Rome, if he judge proper that the matter be examined afresh, he shall write to *the Bishops* of the *neighboring Province* to be *the judges* of it; and if the deposed Bishop persuade the Bishop of Rome to send a priest from his own person, he shall be able to do it, and to send commissioners to judge by his authority, *together with the Bishops*; but if he believes that the Bishops are sufficient to settle the matter, he will do what his wisdom suggests to him.

Here there is a *total absence* of the slightest hint of absolute appellate power *inherently* belonging to the See of Rome from the beginning. They are introducing a *new thing*—entirely discretionary with the Council:—"if you think it good." It looks like a merely temporary expedient for troublous times, and not a permanent law: otherwise the name of the then Pope,

"Julius," would hardly have been inserted in the Canon. And it is not properly an *Appeal*, to be heard *at Rome*, by the *Pope himself*, but it was only a new trial, to be made in the locality where the first was held, with fresh Bishops *from the neighborhood* as "judges," with or without a Roman priest or commissioners sitting and judging *with the rest*. This is a very humble beginning for the enormous fabric of Appellate Power at Rome in Mediæval times!

In the case of Apiarius—a bad priest of an African Diocese, whom the Pope undertook to restore in spite of deposition and excommunication by his own Bishop—the African Church, *and S. Augustine among them*, denied that Rome had any right to interfere. The Pope claimed that the Sardican Canon gave him the right, and his legates insisted that *that* Canon was one of the Canons of the *Council of Nicæa*. The Africans replied that there was no such Canon among *their* copies of the Nicene Canons. They therefore sent to the great *Eastern Sees*, to get authenticated transcripts of the Nicene Canons. And when these showed that there was no such Canon passed by the Council of Nicæa, the Africans utterly and finally *refused* to recognize the Sardican Canon at all. Moreover, they boldly advise the Pope not to send any more "legates" anywhere. They say: "Whoever desires you to *delegate* any of your Clergy to execute your orders, *do not comply*, lest it seem that we are introducing *the pride of secular dominion* into the Church of CHRIST." Their tone is so manfully independent, and thoroughly Anglican, that we cannot forbear a liberal extract, which shall almost close this part of our discussion:



Premising our due regards to you, we earnestly conjure you, that for the future you do not readily admit to a hearing persons coming hence, nor choose to receive to your communion those who have been excommunicated by us, because your Reverence will readily perceive that *this* has been *prescribed* even by the *Nicene decree*. For though this seems to be there forbidden in respect of the inferior Clergy, or the Laity, how much more did it will this to be observed in the case of Bishops, lest those who had been suspended from communion in *their own Province* might seem to be restored to communion *hastily* or *unfitly* by your Holiness. Let your Holiness reject, as is worthy of you, that unprincipled taking shelter with you of Presbyters likewise, and the inferior Clergy, both because *by no Ordinance of the Fathers* hath the *Church of Africa* been *deprived of this authority*, and the *Nicene decrees* have *most plainly committed* not only the Clergy of inferior rank, but *the Bishops themselves*, to *their own Metropolitans*. For they have ordained with great wisdom and justice, that *all matters should be terminated in the places where they arise*; and did not think that the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT would be wanting to *any Province*, for the Priests of CHRIST [*i.e.*, Bishops] wisely to discern, and firmly to maintain, the right: especially since whosoever thinks himself wronged by any judgment, may appeal to the Council of his Province, or even to a General Council [of Africa]: unless it be imagined that GOD *can inspire a single individual* with justice, and *refuse it to an innumerable multitude of Priests* [Bishops] *assembled in Council*. And how shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea, since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary witnesses, whether from the weakness of sex, or advanced age, or any other impediment? For that your Holiness should send *any on your part, we can find ordained by no Council of Fathers*.

It is almost impossible to resist quoting the summary of Mr. Allies in regard to this unanswerable case of Apiarius:

As to the whole case of Apiarius, I confess it was not without astonishment that I first read this passage of history; so

exactly had the African Bishops, in 426, when *the greatest Father of the Church was one of them* [S. Augustine], anticipated and pleaded the cause of *the English Church* in 1534. It is *precisely the same claim* made in both instances, viz., that these two laws should be observed, on which the stability of the Government of the whole Church Catholic rests; as Thomassin remarks: first, that the action of *the Bishop in his own Diocese*, in matters proper to that Diocese, should *not be interfered with*; secondly, that the action of *the Metropolitan with his Suffragans* in matters belonging to *his province* should be *equally free*. Who ever accused the African Bishops, and S. Augustine, of *Schism*, for maintaining a *right* which had *come down to them from all antiquity*, was possessed and acted on *all over the Church*, was specifically enacted at *the greatest Œcumenical Council*, and recognised in *every Provincial Council* held up to that time? This was all that the Church of England claimed: she based her claim on the *unvarying practice of the whole Church*, during, at least, the *first six centuries*. I repeat, it is *not a case of doubt, of conflicting testimony*. . . . It is the Church of the Martyrs, the Church of the Fathers, of Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, bearing *one unbiassed indisputable witness*, attested in a *hundred councils, denied in none*, for the Patriarchal System, and against a power assumed by *one Bishop*, though the greatest, most venerable, and most illustrious in his own See, to *interfere, dispense with, suspend, or abrogate the authority of the Bishop in his Diocese, and of the Metropolitan in his Council*; to exercise singly, by himself, powers which belong only to an Œcumenical Council, and to *annul the enactments* of at least the *first four Œcumenical Councils*. Had an advocate been instructed to draw out the abstract case of the English Church, he could not have described it more exactly than the African Bishops in stating their own. . . . I do not think it makes at all in favor of the Papal Supremacy that the liberties which the African Church, under S. Aurelius and S. Augustine, so nobly maintained, grounding them at once on the *inherent rights of Bishops*, and on the authority of *the Nicene decrees*, were in process of time wrested from them by the Popes, probably

when they were enfeebled by the irruption of the Vandals, and were in greater need of transmarine assistance. I cannot imagine how a *divine right* can be constructed out of a *series of successful encroachments*.

The Sardican Canon did not prevent—what was felt to be a great evil—the recourse to the *Emperor*. Thirty years later, in 378, we read that “a Council of *all* the Bishops of Italy, assembled at Rome, besought *the Emperors*, Gratian and Valentinian, to issue a *general edict*, of which they suggested the terms, in order that Bishops might not for the future be compelled to approach *the Emperor* on every occasion.” Accordingly “a decree was passed *by the Emperors* that *Pope Damasus*, with a council of five or seven Bishops, should judge accusations *at Rome*. . . . If the accused were in distant Provinces, the whole cognisance of the cause should belong to the Metropolitan. But if the accused be a Metropolitan, he must of necessity go *to Rome* to be judged, or take those Bishops for judges whom *the Pope assigns*. If the Metropolitans should happen to be suspected by the accused, they may at their option *appeal to the Roman Pontiff*, or to a Council of fifteen neighboring Bishops.” *The Emperors likewise decree* that whatever has been decided by the Roman Pontiff, or by the judges nominated by him, or by the Metropolitan, or likewise by the Council of fifteen Bishops, is to be final, and not to be on any pretext reconsidered.

So far as concerns the right of Metropolitans to judge in their Provincial Councils, this decree would seem to be merely a repetition of the Nicene Canons. The “fifteen neighboring Bishops” are only another

form of the old principle, that every case shall be settled in that part of the Church where it arises. But the option of appealing to Rome, and the compelling of Metropolitans to be judged at Rome anyhow, are *quite new*. This new thing is found to rest, however, not on S. Peter, or on inherent right, or ancient custom, or anything of the sort. It is a *novelty*, resting solely on the *decree of the Emperors* Gratian and Valentinian—or, as we might say in modern phrase, an *Act of Parliament*! That Gratian and Valentinian should give coercive *jurisdiction*, in *spiritual causes*, to the *Pope* is all right, but for the Crown to give it to Bishops in *England*, is *all wrong*.

One point more. Monsignor Capel quotes a plausible editorial from the *American Literary Churchman*—a periodical whose editor displays his literary ability and his largeness of mind chiefly in coddling his enemies and abusing his friends. In this editorial, after mentioning the cutting off of “Gnostics, Montanists, Arians, Donatists, and the like,” we read: “Later on came the Greek Schism, which was dealt with by a *precisely similar method* and on *precisely similar principles*.” And afterward speaking of the Church of England, the editor says: “She is treated exactly like all other bodies that have acted in the same way, and is cut off from the Communion of the Church.” And again: “If the Church, as recognized by the whole West, had no right to excommunicate the English, then the United Church had no right to declare that the East had fallen into Schism, and the primitive Church had no right to declare that the Arians had fallen into heresy.” There never was a

greater mistake, *historically*, than to assert that the Great Schism with the East, and the excommunication of the English Church in the sixteenth century, were accomplished "by a precisely similar method, and on precisely similar principles," with the condemnation of the Arians and other early heretics. In *all* the cases of the heretics, their condemnation—their cutting off from the Church—came from the legitimate action of *Councils*—commonly, in the first place, *local*, in that part of the Church where the difficulty arose, and almost invariably *afterward* ratified and confirmed by the action of Œcumenical Councils, as Arianism and other heresies were condemned at the Council of Nicæa. *None* of the ancient bodies of heretics was ever cast out of the Church by the act of the Bishop of Rome alone. An excommunication by the Bishop of Rome *alone* might safely be treated, as it *was* treated by S. Cyprian and the African Bishops, by S. Firmilian, S. Basil, S. Theophilus, and others of the Saints and heroes of the Church, with entire disregard. It was the voice of the *collective* Episcopate, in Council assembled, that *alone* had the *power* to cast any out of the Church.

But at the time of the Great Schism between the East and the West *there was no such Council held*. The Pope excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople, and *he* returned the compliment in kind ; but there was no *Council* on either side. Ffoulkes says (p. 452) : "In their formal assemblies, their meetings of the Clergy celebrated in the name of CHRIST and opened with prayer, the conduct of the two Churches [the East and the West] toward each other has been

characterised by singular forbearance and amenity. *No Council of the East has ever anathematised the Western Church by name, or any Council of the West the Eastern.* Excommunications were doubtless exchanged between Photius and Nicholas, Michael Cerularius and the legates of Leo IX., in the early part of the quarrel, but particular care was taken on both sides to *limit the sentence to the individuals* who were the objects of it, and to *declare* that it was *intended to go no further.*" At the Councils of Lyons and Basle, where reconciliation was attempted, there was never the slightest suggestion that the Orientals were cut off from the Communion of the Catholic Church, and needed to be restored.

In each case (Lyons and Basle), as has been shown conclusively from official statements, the programme for discussion was said to be "the division of the Eastern and Western Church." Each side, therefore, recognized the other at starting as forming part of the Church that was divided so far, and in need of re-union. The net of Peter had broken, and wanted mending. Israel and Judah were desirous of keeping the Passover again as one people. . . . Unless, therefore, they met as hypocrites, *they met as equals*, one regarded as much a part of the Church as the other. . . . The Latin Church ranked second in antiquity, the Greek Church in headship. Both sides were fully alive to the strength of their respective claims, and never failed to make the most of them ; otherwise *they met as equals.*

This is totally different from the way in which the Arians were dealt with at the Council of Nicæa ! Indeed, *no Council* short of one truly Œcumenical *could* have undertaken so tremendous a work as the cutting off from the Catholic Church no less than *four out*



of the *five* Patriarchates of which it was then composed. And can we conceive of such an utter absurdity as the supposition that, in an Œcumenical Council, fairly representing all Christendom, a minority of *one-fifth* could have cast out and excommunicated the other *four-fifths*?—or that such a decree would have been *accepted* and *acknowledged* as binding by the four-fifths thus proposed to be cut off? The excommunication of the Pope, therefore, *could* not, and *has* not cut off the Orientals from the Catholic Church, any more than S. Cyprian, S. Theophilus, S. Cyril, and S. Meletius were cut off by another Pope in the days of old, before them. It was not, and *could not possibly have been*, the act of “*the United Church*.”

So in the case of the excommunication of the English Church by the Pope. It was *his* act, not that of an Œcumenical Council, and, therefore, belongs precisely in the same class as the case of the Orientals. Neither the “method” nor the “principles” are identical, in *any* sense, with those of the Œcumenical Councils against the ancient heretics.

Another point needs also to be taken into account. In the ancient Councils, whether Provincial or General, no sentence of excommunication was *ever* launched against an entire Diocese or a whole Province, much less a whole group of Provinces, thus including in one condemnation multitudes who had given no personal adhesion to error. “An heretic, after the first and second admonition reject,” is the injunction of S. Paul. None but obstinate *individuals* were ever excommunicated by *Councils*. Any excom-



munication of whole countries, and entire Branches of the Church, must, from the nature of the case itself, be null and void.

The Church of England has never retaliated the excommunication of the Bishop of Rome in any manner whatever. On the contrary she has, in her Canon XXX., distinctly declared that "so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it does with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men ; and *only* departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both *from themselves in their ancient integrity*, and from *the Apostolical Churches*, which were their first founders." The Church is, in Holy Scripture, compared to a House. In this House there are many apartments, all under the same roof, and we may regard each Branch of the Church as occupying its own apartment. There may be quarrels among them, so that they refuse social intercourse with one another, and may even nail up the doors of communication between them ; but no one of them can turn all the rest out of the House ! Monsignor asks of us : "Why are they angered when individuals leave the Protestant Episcopal Branch to perch on the Roman ?" Yet no twig can be cut from one branch, even to be grafted on another of the same tree, without leaving a wound behind. And especially is this wound felt when the

avowed reason given for leaving is, that the deserted Branch is declared to be no part of the Tree at all. He asks again, whether "the Unity now presented by the 'Branch Theory' in any way resembles the Unity in the Trinity?" To which we reply that it resembles it quite as closely as the Roman Unity, which—as his edition of "The Faith of Catholics" has told us—permits the "liberty" of entertaining "*discordant notions*" on points "avowedly undefined by the voice of the Church." He asks also "How could the same individuals reasonably hold and practise 'Romanism,' 'Anglicanism,' 'Photianism,' travelling six months successively to Rome, London and Constantinople?" To which we reply that if Monsignor Capel, "coming," as he tells us, "with commendatory letters from Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, to the Bishops, and exercising the ministry with the approbation and authority of the respective Ordinaries," thus "*prima facie* giving the assurance that his teaching is *Catholic*,"—if he can publish here in America now, that "It is *no article of the Catholic Faith* to believe that *the Pope is, in himself, infallible*, separated from the Church, *even in expounding the Faith*," even when the Vatican Council has decreed *the contrary*, we do not see why any one holding the *ancient Catholic Faith* might not be admitted to communion equally in Rome, London, and Constantinople, be his "private opinions" about Romanism, Anglicanism, and Photianism what they may.

One other part of Monsignor's case our limits compel us to dismiss more briefly than we should like. It might easily occupy a volume by itself. It refers

to the history of the Church in England, before and after the Reformation. In "Catholic," after mentioning handsomely the *Magna Charta* (by the way, he utterly forgets to tell us how the Pope declared *that* to be "null and void," and what his excommunication of those who won it amounted to), he gives this charming general description of the ante-Reformation period: "Church and State grew side by side in harmony, rendering mutual aid, and formed 'Merrie England.' So was it until the accession of the Tudors, under whom a mighty and radical change was effected." What sort of "history" can Monsignor have been reading? For some hundreds of years before the Reformation it had been the *law of the land* that no prelate could even leave England to visit the Pope without first getting the King's permission; and no Bull or other official document could lawfully be brought into England except by the King's leave; nor could *any* appeal to Rome be lawfully made except by the sanction of the King. Moreover, there was an express *prohibition* that any one should receive or acknowledge any Legate sent by the Pope, and there was no reservation of *any* power in the King to dispense with this law. The terrible penalties of *Præmunire* were provided against all who should violate this Act, including the forfeiture of *all* lands and goods to the King. All these Acts were on the statute-book *before* the Tudors ascended the throne. Now, Henry VIII. had actually procured the legatine power for Wolsey, both of them knowing that it was against the law, and that the King had no power to dispense with the obligation of that law.

Wolsey doubtless supposed that there was honor enough in the King to prevent him from taking advantage of his own wrong. But he found out his mistake! When the King changed his policy, he had the *whole realm* at his mercy—*by law*. He cunningly exercised the Royal power of *pardon*, so far as the *laity* were concerned, *at once*; and they, grateful for his mercy, were ready enough to join him in squeezing the clergy, who, *as a body*, had—by law—*forfeited* all their lands and goods to the King, besides being at his mercy for anything further. The clergy of no kingdom has ever been caught in so terrible a trap as that! They were willing enough to pay about *five millions* of dollars of our money to save the rest of their property; and, besides that, no pressure of tyranny on the part of the absolute King could induce them to recognize his supremacy, except “so far as the law of CHRIST allows.” But the entire machinery for this tremendous pressure was provided *in the days of “Merrie England.”*

The power of the Kings, too, in selecting the persons who were to be consecrated Archbishops, or Bishops, or even Abbots of the greater monasteries, was for many reigns exercised, as a matter of course, without recurrence to the Popes in anywise previous to their consecration or installation. This power was also exercised by the Kings of France and Spain, and by the Emperor of Germany. Indeed, even after the Emperor Henry IV. had been declared *deposed* by the Pope, he nominated Bruno as Archbishop of Treves, and he was consecrated—no “confirmation” or permission being given by the Pope; nor was any

fault found with him at Rome for this, although he was censured for other things.\* The removal of obnoxious Bishops from their sees was also a common exertion of Royal power, and one King of England actually beheaded an Archbishop of York as a traitor, without asking leave of the Pope. He was the same King, too, in whose reign was passed the Act concerning the Burning of Heretics—an Act which should never be forgotten in describing “Merrie England.” The foundation for the worst abuses of power during the Reformation period was laid in the legislation of the preceding centuries. And the most barbarous relic of that period, which still remains on the statute-book—the Act of *Præmunire*—while it is a shame to the legislation of England, may be excused on the ground that, *since the Reformation*, there has been no attempt to put it in force against anybody. It was quite a lively Act *before*!

As to the undue preponderance of the civil power in some things, we have no defence to make, except only that it has never been such as to kill the Divine life of the Church. If there are hardships to be borne for a while, so have there been in other parts of the Church, and in other ages. As to appeals, let us look at a Roman case, in the time of Constantine. The Donatists—contrary to the Canons—carried their case to “the Churches across the sea.” They appealed to the Emperor, who “*delegated* the discussion and terminating of it to Bishops.” Now we have heard about the Court of Delegates in England, that,

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\* Bossuet, *Defensio*, etc., Lib. III. Cap., vi.

though it might be composed of Bishops, yet as they were delegated by the Crown, they had no power of jurisdiction except such as the Crown could give. Well, here is the Emperor doing the same thing! and one of his delegates is Melchiades, Bishop of Rome! Only think of a Pope being *delegated by an Emperor* to hear a case of appeal in a matter of *schism*! But even the Emperor did not delegate the case to the Pope *alone*, but, to “many of his colleagues with him.” After they had decided, the losing party, still dissatisfied, appeal again, and “yet, a second time, the *most indulgent Emperor assigned other Bishops as judges*, at Arles, in Gaul.” This is stranger yet! An appeal once settled by the Pope with his Council is carried up to a much larger Synod of Bishops, at Arles, in Gaul!—and this by order of the *Emperor*! When the Donatists were condemned again there, they still persisted in appealing “to the *Emperor himself*,” and “*he, too, heard the cause*, and pronounced Cæcilianus innocent, and them false accusers.” So there was an appeal from the Pope and his Council to a much larger Council, and a further appeal from that larger Council to the *Emperor*, who gave the *final* decision. And the *Emperor* had “delegated” both the previous appeals to the Bishops who heard them! And this, too, when the said Emperor was not even a baptized man! Did the existence of courts like these prove that there was *no* spiritual jurisdiction in the Bishop of Rome, or any other Bishops, except what they received from *the Emperor*? Did such trials as these prove that the Church of Rome was, in those days, deprived of every shred of Divine jurisdiction?

If not, how can cases *much less strong* prove any such thing in regard to the Church of England?

There are many other tempting points which Monsignor offers to us, but we have already much exceeded our limits, and must close. Our authorities have been taken almost exclusively from Romish writers—Bossuet, Thomassin, De Marca, Tillemont, Ffoulkes, Hefele—and most freely from that Mr. Allies whom Monsignor commends to our special confidence. We have omitted *ten times* as much as we have quoted; but probably the reader will think we have given enough!

We have *demonstrated* that to be out of communion with the Pope of Rome is *not* the same thing as to be out of the Catholic Church.

We have *demonstrated* that the Apostolic Succession is *certain*; and that the Papal succession is *uncertain*, or rather, on their own theory, *impossible*.

We have *demonstrated* that the Church is founded upon *the Bishops collectively*, and not upon the Pope.

We have *demonstrated* that the strong phrases about the *Primacy* of Rome do not prove the *Supremacy*.

We have *demonstrated* that phrases equally strong, about other Bishops, are *not* interpreted as proving a *Supremacy in them*.

We have *demonstrated* that the ancient and Œcumenical Canons secure to the Provincial Councils, without *any* action of the Pope, the *entire* work of consecrating Bishops.

We have *demonstrated* that the Pope had *no part* in giving jurisdiction to any Bishops outside of his own immediate Provinces.



We have *demonstrated* that the Pope had no canonical power of disciplining Bishops or others outside of his own immediate Provinces.

We have *demonstrated* that there was nothing even resembling the right to order a new trial before the Sardican Canon was passed.

We have *demonstrated* that the first real power of hearing appeals *at Rome* was granted by *the Emperors* at the request of the Pope and his Italian Council ; that request being an open acknowledgment that the Civil authority had *power to grant* the Spiritual jurisdiction *asked for*.

We have *demonstrated*, out of the writings of Popes themselves, that the Canons are as binding upon *them* as upon any others ; and that those same Canons shall so continue "*till the end of the world*."

We have *demonstrated* the difference between excommunication by a Pope and excommunication by Councils.

We have *demonstrated* that divisions *in* the Church are one thing, and being cut off from the Church is a very different thing.

We have also *demonstrated*—in a few particulars—what sort of a "Merrie England" they had before the Reformation.

And especially we have *demonstrated*, from "The Faith of Catholics," published by Monsignor Capel himself, that it "*is certain*" that a belief in the infallibility of the Pope "*is not* an essential term of Communion ;" that whether it belongs to the deposit of Faith or not is left to "the private opinions of individuals ;" that ever so many bulls of ever so many

Popes may be thrown overboard by any Catholic, on the ground that "both Scripture and history testify against" the doctrine taught in them "being either a term of communion or a revealed truth;" that the Infallibility of the Pope is one of the "points *avowedly undefined* by the voice of the Church;" and that therefore "the opinions of men" have "liberty" for the "discordant notions" that have been entertained. All of which will be great news at Rome! What will "His Eminence Cardinal Simeoni" say?

## THE PETRINE CLAIMS.\*

THE REV. DR. LITTLEDALE is already the author of by far the best popular treatise to put into the hands of Church people who may find themselves befogged by any *ad captandum* arguments on the part of the Church of Rome. His *Plain Reasons Against Joining the Church of Rome*—the work to which we refer—is compendious in form, lively and interesting in style, very moderate in price, and unanswerable in its statement of facts. The attempt of Father Ryder, even with the subterranean assistance of Cardinal Newman himself, to answer this little book, was a total failure; though the attempt was a solid recognition of the importance of the work, which it thus did *not* dispose of. A few pages were all that Dr. Littledale needed in reply.

His present work, on *The Petrine Claims*, is of a very different scope. Instead of comparing the Anglican and Roman positions, he now does what our controversialists have seldom done. Instead of simply defending our own position, Dr. Littledale boldly carries the war into Africa, and shows that the Romanists themselves, on the requirements of their own Canon Law, have not a leg to stand on; that their

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\* *The Petrine Claims*. A Critical Inquiry by RICHARD FREDERICK LITTLEDALE, LL.D., D.C.L. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1889.

whole Succession came to an end four hundred years ago, and that there can be found no possible mode of starting it afresh! And he not only asserts this, but *proves* it, by the Roman Canon Law itself, by Roman historians, and by the Bulls of Roman Popes.

But this, though the conclusion, is by no means all. He traces the question fully from the beginning, showing that the case is deficient in *every point* required for the establishment of a valid "privilege," according to the Roman Canon Law itself; and that there have been quite a number of breaks—even if there had been anything to begin with—besides the last, and longest, and most complete of all.

This work has been so admirably and so thoroughly done, that we should be glad to give a condensed statement of the whole process: but our space will hardly permit of that.

In the "Preface," Dr. Littledale points out that this book "does not touch the theological side of the matters in debate, save incidentally and subordinately; and is *solely* occupied with the *legal* aspect of the claim laid by the Papacy to sovereign authority over the Church Universal." He goes on to say:

For this claim is much more than a mere speculative theory, or even than a dogmatic principle; it is a *legal maxim* of the widest range and the most detailed application, directly affecting every matter and every act within the spiritual domain, whether belonging to the sphere of faith or to that of discipline. The questions of the authority of Creeds and Councils, of the competence of all ecclesiastical officers, of the valid administration of Sacraments, of the legitimacy of forms of devotion, of the terms of Communion requisite to Church membership, and all cognate ones, are inextricably bound up with this single proposition, which is thus of *supreme legal importance*.

This being so, and the 'Privilege of Peter' being alleged as conveying no mere honorary Primacy, but as concentrating the whole government and jurisdiction over the Church Universal in the person of the Pope for the time being, it is removed from the sphere of dogma and from that of speculation into that of practical and legal action, and therefore must be examined and tested by legal methods, in order to ascertain its credentials.

The claim usually takes two forms: that it is based on and warranted by a Divine Charter, contained in Holy Scripture; and that it has been in fact enjoyed and exercised, with the full recognition and approval of ancient Christendom, for a period so long and unbroken as to add a title by prescription to reinforce that conferred by the original charter.

The following pages are exclusively concerned with an investigation of these two theses, in their Scriptural, conciliar, and historical aspects; and the *principles* laid down by the *Roman Canon Law* have been *applied throughout* to guide the inquiry and determine the conclusions on *purely legal* grounds, as open to less dispute, and admitting of less evasion than the theological treatment of the controversy has usually proved.

We have here quoted the "Preface" *almost entire*, as giving, so clearly and succinctly, the leading difference between this work on *The Petrine Claims* and our usual books of controversy against Rome. The issue is made more narrow, more definite, and more decisive than in any other we know of.

The first chapter is devoted to the Legal Evidence of Scripture, first setting down the teaching of the Council of Trent, and that of the Vatican, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV. about Holy Scripture, the "unanimous consent of the Fathers," and the infallibility of the Pope. As to this last, the author says:

As the entire claim of Papal Infallibility rests avowedly on asserted heirship to S. Peter, and right of succession to all his

privileges, while no allegation is made that those privileges have been specifically re-granted to any Pope since his time, much less increased, developed, and amplified in any manner, it follows that the Pope can claim no more than is plainly discoverable as conferred upon and exercised by S. Peter himself. But the whole of the evidence now extant upon this head is confined to the books of the New Testament. The few meagre and uncertain notices of S. Peter's life which have come to us from uninspired writers, do not touch this question of his primacy, jurisdiction, and transmission of his powers at all. Consequently, the Gospel, Acts and Epistles contain not only his whole charter of privilege, but our whole means of ascertaining what he actually enjoyed and exercised in virtue of that charter.

It is indisputable, therefore, that the Roman claims—if they have any firm basis—must establish clearly and expressly, not by mere possible implication or inference, the following points:

(1) That S. Peter was given, by CHRIST, a primacy, not of honor and rank alone, but of direct and sovereign jurisdiction over all the other Apostles.

(2) That this primacy was not limited to S. Peter's person only for his lifetime, but was conferred on him with power to bequeath it to his successors.

And now we come to the bed-rock of the peculiarity of this entire book—the testing of the “Privilege of Peter.” It is the phrase, not of *our* theologians, but of the Roman advocates themselves—their favorite phrase. Dr. Littledale contends that “an exclusively Roman claim” cannot reasonably or even plausibly refuse to be tested by *the Roman Canon Law itself*; as, for instance, by pleading that the Petrine privilege, being older than the Canon Law, cannot be

subject to its rules, for, as he says, the question is as to the devolution of this privilege *to the reigning Pope*, whose claim to it *must* be subject to the tests of contemporary Canon Law; especially since the claim itself was not formulated definitely till the fifth century. He says also :

The reason why the proof of it needs to be express and clear, is because *privilege*, being a private exception to the usual public course of law, either in the form of exemption from some burden generally imposed, or of enjoyment of some benefit generally withheld, is *essentially an invidious thing*, and requires *fuller proof than any other right* before it can be allowed as valid. Consequently, the Roman Canon Law has laid down the following broad rules (among others) to govern all cases of the sort :

Let the reader now mark well these *Seven Roman Rules*, which apply to all cases of *Privilege* :

- (1) The authoritative document containing the privilege must be produced. [*Decret. Greg. IX.*]
- (2) Its wording must be certain and manifest, not obscure or doubtful. [*Decret. Greg. IX.*]
- (3) It must be construed in the most strict and literal sense. [*Rég. Juris.; Fagnan. de Past. et Prælat.; Zypæus de Privil. Consult.*]
- (4) If personal, it follows the person [not the office]; and it dies with the person named in it. [*Boniface VIII.*]
- (5) It may not be extended to any other person, because of identity or similarity of reason, unless such extension be expressly named in it. [*Decret. Greg. IX.*]
- (6) It may not be so interpreted as to deny, interfere with, or encroach upon the rights and privileges of another. [*Decret. Greg. IX.*]
- (7) It is forfeited by any excess or abuse in its exercise. [*Decret. ii, xi, 3, lx.*]



To one at all familiar with the Roman controversy, the tremendously destructive range of these Seven Rules, taken from the Roman Canon Law, is manifest at the first sight. They sweep the whole Roman fabric out of sight, like a house of cards. And this destructive sweeping is done with their own broom!

Dr. Littledale then quotes in full the three chief passages of Holy Scripture relied upon by Roman writers in proof of the Privilege of Peter: "Thou art Peter," etc., "When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren," and "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," showing how utterly they fail to comply with the Seven Rules, and giving further evidence besides of the impossibility of the Roman interpretation being the right one. In connection with the "Feed my sheep," Dr. Littledale alludes to S. Peter's question, almost immediately after, about S. John: "LORD, and what shall this man do?" with our LORD's reply, "What is that to thee?" and adds:

It is obvious that if S. Peter had received jurisdiction over S. John only a few minutes before, his question was perfectly legitimate and reasonable, and merited a reply, as being his concern, because affecting one for whom he had just been made responsible. But the answer he actually receives can denote nothing short of S. John's entire independence, and the restriction of S. Peter's own commission to attending to his own specific and limited share of Apostolic work, with no right of control over S. John.

In commenting on the foundation on which the Church is built, it seems to us that Dr. Littledale might have made his position still stronger. He says, truly enough, that "even if we take S. Peter to be

the rock, it appears that even this title does not stand alone in such sort as to constitute a gift of sovereign authority. For this same attribute of being foundations of the Church is in two other places ascribed to the Apostles generally, once by S. Paul: 'Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of GOD; and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief corner-stone; in Whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the LORD' [*Eph.* ii., 19-21]; and again by S. John: 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb' [*Rev.* xxi., 14]; where, moreover," says Dr. Littledale, "it is not unworthy of notice that the *first* stone, a jasper, is much inferior in beauty and value to some of the remainder, as the sapphire, emerald, and chrysolite, which severally form the second, fourth, and seventh foundations." [*Rev.* xxi., 19, 20].

This word "foundation" is used in two very different senses, which must be carefully distinguished. One is the great bed-rock, the Deity of the SON of GOD:—"Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST, the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." The whole Church, the House of GOD, the living Temple, is built upon that Rock. The other sense is, not that Rock itself, but the first part of *the wall* that is *built* upon that Rock. It is in *this* sense that we read of the Church as being "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and

Prophets," and, as above, of the "twelve foundations" in which are "the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."

The former sense gives us the Deity of the SON of GOD, which S. Peter had just confessed: "Thou art the CHRIST, the *Son of the living GOD*." And *this* was the Rock of Deity on which the whole Church was to be builded. But where do we find the humanity of CHRIST in this great work? As *Man*, he is the corner-stone, the head-stone of the corner, the first stone laid in the foundation wall. This is in *exact* accordance with the language of S. Paul, who, after mentioning that we are "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets," immediately adds: "JESUS CHRIST *Himself* being the *chief corner-stone*," namely, of that same foundation wall. So that His Deity is the foundation of bed-rock on which the whole foundation rests: and His Humanity is the "chief corner-stone" of the wall built upon that Rock.

This then would make the *jasper*, which is the first stone of the twelve foundations, to signify, not S. Peter, but CHRIST Himself. It may not be so beautiful or so costly as some of the other stones mentioned. It was said of Him: "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire Him." But jasper is of the color of blood—the blood of His Atonement. And it is the jeweller's *touchstone*, by which the true quality of the precious metal is tested. Moreover, we find the statement, just *before* the enumeration of the twelve foundations, that the *entire wall*, resting

upon the twelve foundations, was of this same "*jasper*": "And he measured the wall thereof an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel. And the building of the wall of it was of *jasper*." Now we have heard of Romanists claiming from this that communion with the See of Peter was necessary; and it would look like it, if the "*jasper*" signifies S. Peter. But if the *jasper* is CHRIST, the understanding of the whole is much easier; for every baptized person is surely made thereby a "member of CHRIST," and therefore a part of the *jasper* wall. But we never heard of anybody being made a "member of S. Peter."

One thing more. In the opening of the fourth chapter of the Revelation we read: "And immediately I was in the Spirit; and behold, a throne was set in Heaven, and One sat on the throne. And he that sat was to look upon *like a jasper* and a sardine stone. And round about the throne were the four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white, and on their heads crowns of gold. And before the throne were the seven lamps of fire burning, which are the Seven Spirits of GOD. And before the throne was the sea of glass, like unto crystal. And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, and full of eyes within, rest not day and night, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord GOD Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come!" Will any one dare to say that all this proves that *S. Peter* was upon that throne, because the *jasper* means S. Peter? Even papal blasphemy will hardly go as far as that, although Pius IX. *did* assume to himself the words, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

To go back now to the beautiful words of S. Paul. He says that we are "built upon the *foundation* of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the chief corner-stone:" and then he goes straight on: "In Whom"—that is, in JESUS CHRIST, not in S. Peter—in CHRIST, "*all the building*, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the LORD." This covers the great bulk of the jasper wall. All the building is "fitly framed together" in CHRIST—not in S. Peter. It "groweth unto an holy temple *in the LORD*"—not in S. Peter. Holy Scripture is in perfect harmony with itself. But the Roman interpretation of these texts puts them in irreconcilable contradiction with similar expressions everywhere else in the Bible.

In the full discussion of the crucial text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church," Dr. Littledale is peculiarly strong and clear. Cardinal Bellarmine was the author of an ingenious argument in favor of Rome. He *assumed* that our LORD was talking Syriac; and assured us that in Syriac there was only one word to represent the Greek *Petros* (Peter) and *Petra* (a Rock). So that when our LORD said to Peter: "Thou art *Kipha*, and upon this *Kipha* I will build my Church," there could be no doubt that he meant what the Romanists would like to have him mean. This ingenious *guess* is unanswerably met by Dr. Littledale thus:

The reply is direct and conclusive, that both the Hebrew *Cepha* and the Peshîttâ Syriac *Kîphâ*, when they mean rock or stone, are of the feminine gender, which *Cephas* or *Peter*, as a masculine noun denoting a man's name, certainly is not, either

in Syriac or Greek; and in the ancient Syriac version of this very passage, *S. Matt.* xvi, 18 (doubtless the most trustworthy gloss obtainable), the *feminine* pronoun is found united with the second *Cepha*.

Our Roman friends will therefore be compelled to abandon Cardinal Bellarmine's ingenious guess, unless they are prepared to assert that S. Peter was a *woman*, and that Pope Joan is the only *legitimate* successor of S. Peter on record! Yet Dr. Döllinger has proved that Pope Joan is a myth!

In considering [page 58] whether the "Babylon" mentioned at the close of S. Peter's first Epistle is the geographical Babylon on the Euphrates—a great stronghold of the Jews at that time—or is used mystically for "Rome," one consideration is omitted, which has always seemed to us conclusive against the Roman hypothesis. In Holy Scripture, whenever a number of different nations, countries or provinces is mentioned, the *order* is, to begin with that which is geographically nearest to the writer at his time of writing, and to end with the more remote. This order is the natural order, and it is *never* reversed. In S. Peter's Epistle, at the opening, he addresses it "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," which is the *natural* order to one writing from Babylon on the Euphrates, for Pontus is the nearest to that Babylon; and Asia (the proconsular province of that name, which contained all the "Seven Churches of Asia" mentioned by S. John in the Apocalypse, and was at the western end of what we call *Asia Minor*) and Bithynia were the most remote from Babylon, and therefore are mentioned *last*.

The chapter on the "Legal Evidence of Scripture" ends thus :

So far, then, as the Papal claim is alleged to be of Divine Privilege, given by revelation, the Scriptures, treated as the chief document in evidence of claim, fail to satisfy the requirements of Roman Canon Law ; for (1) they afford *no testimony whatever* as to the annexation of privilege to the Roman See, or its transmission from S. Peter to *any* of his successors ; (2) the evidence as to his own primacy is obscurely and enigmatically worded ; (3) so far as its wording does go, it is a personal, not an official, grant, and thus dies with the original grantee ; (4) if continued in the Ultramontane sense, it encroaches on S. Paul's privileges, which are more clearly worded.

Wherever the proof may be found, therefore, it is *certainly not* in the Scriptures.

The next point taken up is the "Legal Evidence of Liturgies and Fathers."

In the Liturgies there is found much that, d'rectly and indirectly, destroys the Roman claim. For instance :

In the Liturgy of S. James, or norm of Palestine, we find : "For the stablishing of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which *Thou hast founded on the rock of the faith*, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it:" which is not exactly the same as the Roman idea that the Church was founded on S. Peter. And we also find supplication made "Especially for the glorious Zion, *the Mother of all the Churches*," which is rather different from the idea that *Rome* is the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches.

In the Liturgy of S. Mark, the first place in the commemoration of ecclesiastical persons is assigned to the Pope or Patriarch of *Alexandria* (not Rome),



who is described in one passage as "pre-ordained to rule over Thy Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church:" but not one word about the Pope of Rome!

But the strongest of all is the Roman Liturgy itself, which, in the Collect for the Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, runs thus:

Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, that thou wouldst not suffer us, whom Thou hast established *upon the rock of the Apostolic confession*, to be shaken by any disturbances," etc.

Even the Council of Trent itself, in its solemn decree upon the Symbol of Faith, speaks thus, after a long preamble:

Wherefore it (the Council) judged that the symbol of the Faith, which the Holy Roman Church uses, should be set forth in the full wording whereby it is read in all the Churches, as that principle in which all who confess the faith of CHRIST must needs agree, and as the *firm and only foundation, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*, which is of this sort: "I believe in one GOD," etc.

Now, seeing that one clause of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. binds all who accept it, to receive all the "apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and other observances and constitutions of the same (holy Roman) Church; and another binds him to the definitions of the Councils, and chiefly that of Trent: it follows that *no Romanist is free to hold that S. Peter was "the rock."* He *must*—under pain of *anathema*—believe that the *faith*, or the *Creed*, is the "Rock" against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

The summing up of the Liturgical Evidence is as follows:

The Liturgical Evidence is thus shown to be either positively against the Petrine Claims, or negatively incapable of being cited in their favor, although it is quite certain that, if any such view of S. Peter's peculiar rank as Head of the Church and Vicar of CHRIST had prevailed, as unquestionably did prevail touching S. John Baptist's exceptional position as herald and forerunner of CHRIST, we should find abundant and conclusive proof of it in the Liturgies.

In passing from the Liturgies to the Fathers in general, Dr. Littledale confines himself mainly to citations from those who are recognized as "Doctors of the Church," whose authority is not open to criticism from Roman Catholics : and he reminds us—not for the first time—that "nothing short of the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers may lawfully be followed by any Roman Catholic in the interpretation of Scripture"—so says the Creed of Pope Pius IV. And in his summing up of this branch of the evidence, he shows that there is not merely no "unanimous consent" of the Fathers in favor of Peter being the Rock, but there is a powerful preponderance of adverse testimony. Only *seventeen* are for the Roman view against *forty-four* who take the opposite, besides *eight* others who take *all* the Apostles to be the Rock : while there is *not one* of the whole of them who adds anything to connect the text with the Bishop of Rome as successor or heir of S. Peter !

As to another of the three chief Roman texts : "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," Dr. Littledale tells us that of *twenty* patristic citations made by Bellarmine in favor of his view, *all* are quoted as from *Popes*, and *eighteen* of the twenty are from the *False Decretals* !

We cannot resist the temptation to a long extract closing the Scriptural and patristic part of the examination. But then it is so clear and good, and the illustrations from modern usage are so apt !

Thus an examination of the glosses of the Fathers on the three texts alleged for the Petrine Privilege results in one of two issues. Either *there was no such privilege*, as distinguished from the joint powers of the Apostolate, conferred upon S. Peter at all ; or else—and this is the better way—his special privilege was limited to preaching the first Pentecostal sermon, and afterwards converting Cornelius—events which are absolutely incapable of repetition : even GOD Himself (if it be lawful to say so) not being able to recall the past, so that no one else, after S. Peter had once done these two things, could be *the first* to teach Jews or Gentiles ; just as no Pope can follow S. Peter in being *first* to confess Christ. No other distinction is named by the ancient Fathers, is claimed by S. Peter himself [*Acts* xv, 7], or is discoverable in Holy Writ. And, consequently, if this be the privilege of Peter, it did not merely die with him, but was possible for even himself to exercise not more than twice in his lifetime, so that is absolutely incommunicable and intransmissible, and incapable of serving as a precedent for any claim whatsoever based on alleged succession to his authority and primacy. If it could be strained to mean anything it would be that each Pope must needs start as a missionary pioneer to some country or nation which had not yet received the Gospel. But no Pope has ever done so. With this collapse of the alleged evidence, the *whole case* for the Divine character of the Roman privilege is *really gone*, and no mind trained in the investigation of testimony, and free from overpowering bias, can do other than dismiss it.

But what about the high-sounding, complimentary titles that are given to S. Peter in many ancient writings, which are *said* to imply some authority over the other Apostles ? Is he not styled sometimes—

especially from the fourth century, and by Eastern writers—"prince," "head," "president," "captain," and the like? Do these prove nothing? Hear the reply:

Now what these epithets (none of which, by-the-bye, is found until the fourth century) *prove*, is the high estimation in which the ancient Church held S. Peter, and the fact that it believed him to enjoy some priority amongst the Apostles. They would be important evidence against any attempt to maintain that, owing to S. Peter's fall and denial, he had, in the belief of early Christians, forfeited his office irreparably (as a strict Novatian might have taught), and had been looked on with a suspicion extending not merely to his rank, but to his teaching, such as we know to have existed against S. Paul.

What they do *not* prove, nor even seem to prove, is the Divine grant of *supreme jurisdiction*. For they are not authoritative titles, either found in Holy Scripture, or conferred by conciliar decree. The fact that nothing in the smallest degree resembling even the least exalted of them is discoverable in the New Testament, deprives them of the mark of revelation; the fact that they are not common to the whole Church, leaves them without that of universal consent. They bestow nothing, and they define nothing. But what we are in search of is *an express bestowal of exceptional privilege, as divinely revealed and clearly defined*.

The matter may be illustrated thus: The title of Great *or* Grand Duke, in modern Europe, means one of two things: either sovereign authority, as in the case of the Grand Dukes of Baden, Saxe-Weimar, Oldenburg, Hesse, and the two Mecklenburgs, or else membership of the Russian Imperial family. But the celebrated Duke of Wellington was and is known as the Great Duke, and is frequently so described in English literature, notably in the Laureate's funeral ode. Let us suppose the case of a remote successor of his in the dukedom claiming this epithet as hereditary, and as conferring sovereign power, imperial rank, or even precedence, over all other

English Dukes. How would it be treated? Not by a denial of the fact that the epithet was applied to the first Duke of Wellington, nor yet by an attempt to explain away the epithet itself as a mere piece of rhetoric—rather admitting its entire fitness—but by examining the original patent of the dukedom, in order to ascertain if a clause embodying this particular distinction were part of it. And, on its absence being certified, it would be at once ruled that, however deserved the epithet might be, it was not conferred by any authority capable of bestowing either civil power or social precedence, and must therefore be regarded as a mere personal token of popular admiration, conferring no rights whatever on its subject. Nor would the case for the claim to sovereign rank be mended by advancing proof that the first Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister of the Crown for part of his life, and Commander-in-Chief for a much longer period. For it would have to be shown, in the first place, that these posts connoted irresponsibility to any superior; and in the next, that the patents which bestowed them made them hereditary, and not merely personal. But in S. Peter's case, we have the original Divine patent, in which no clause of superiority or transmissibility occurs, and no expressions of individual human respect can read an additional title, article or section, into it.

In the second place, the great majority of these epithets occur in documents of the Eastern Church, which has never at any time admitted the Roman claims of supremacy, and which therefore obviously puts no such interpretation on its own language. The Western titles of S. Peter are fewer, and far less imposing.

And thirdly, not only are equally strong phrases used concerning S. John, and yet more forcible ones concerning S. James, but nearly every one of these special ones is applied to S. Paul as well as to S. Peter; so that even in the modern Roman Church they are grouped together as 'Princes of the Apostles.' So, too, when the full heraldic titles of an English Duke are set forth, he is described as the High, Puissant, and most Noble Prince—words which scarcely seem to allow of rivalry, but which are common to every Peer of the same grade; while all

Dukes have to yield precedence to a mere Baron who happens to be Lord Chancellor, President of the Council, or Lord Privy Seal.

In a note, Dr. Littledale enumerates some of the sounding titles given by the Fathers to other Apostles than S. Peter—titles about which our Roman controversialists are singularly silent, while they pick out everything of the sort that they can find about S. Peter. For instance, S. Chrysostom speaks of the “pillar of *all the Churches throughout the world*, who hath the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.” If this had been said about S. Peter we should never hear the last of it, as a proof of the universal sovereignty claimed for S. Peter. But as S. Chrysostom uses these words about *S. John*, the case is totally changed, and these strong words mean—*nothing at all*. So, again, the same eloquent Saint speaks of another Apostle as “the type of the world,” “the light of the Churches,” “the basis of the faith,” “the pillar and ground of the truth;” which would mean full Ultramontaniam *if* they were said of *S. Peter*; but as they are only said of S. Paul, they go for nothing. S. James, too, is called “bishop of bishops,” in another place “prince of bishops,” in yet another “bishop of the Apostles,” and again “chief captain of the New Jerusalem,” “leader of the priests,” “prince (exarch) of the Apostles,” “summit of the heights,” etc., all of which would be splendid jewels in the tiara of S. Peter; but, being only said of S. James, they all go for nothing.

The investigation of the three most ancient and important sources of testimony, Holy Scripture, early

Liturgies, and the comments of the Fathers on the Petrine texts in the Gospels, having thus resulted in a clear failure to establish the "Petrine Claims," our author next turns to the "Legal Evidence of Conciliar Decrees." He begins by quoting the clause from the Creed of Pope Pius IV :

I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined and declared by the Sacred Canons and General Councils, and especially by the Holy Council of Trent; and I condemn, reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto.

To this he adds the famous profession of S. Gregory the Great, embodied in the Canon Law, in which he receives the first four General Councils as he does the Four Gospels. And also, the solemn profession made by every Pope at his elevation, which is this :

The eight Holy General Councils—that is, Nice first, Constantinople second, Ephesus third, Chalcedon fourth, Constantinople fifth and sixth, Nice seventh, and Constantinople eighth—I profess with mouth and heart to be kept unaltered in a single tittle [*usque ad unum apicem immutilata servari*], to account them worthy of equal honor and veneration, to follow, in every respect, whatsoever they promulgated or decreed, and to condemn whatsoever they condemned.

The Apostolic Canons, the most ancient of all, are of course silent about the Papacy. They say :

It is fit that the Bishops of *each nation* should recognize their Primate, and treat him as Head, and do nothing of moment without his assent. . . . But neither let him [the Primate] do aught without the assent of all ; for so shall there be concord, and GOD shall be glorified through the LORD in the Holy Spirit.



This is the rule throughout the entire Anglican Communion. We cannot allude here to all the Councils mentioned by Dr. Littledale: but there is a very important passage in regard to the famous third Canon of the Council of Sardica, which the Popes of Rome, on four different occasions, in four different places, and at four different times, tried to palm off as a Canon of the Great Council of Nice. Every time the fraud was exposed: yet with brazen front the attempt was renewed, whenever a difference of place or circumstance held out a fresh chance of success. That third Canon runs thus:

If in any province a Bishop have a dispute with a brother Bishop, let neither of them call in a Bishop from another province as arbiter; but if any Bishop be cast in any suit, and think his case good, so that the judgment ought to be reviewed, if it please you, let us honor the memory of S. Peter the Apostle, and let those who have tried the cause write to Julius, Bishop of Rome, that if needful he may provide for a rehearing of the cause by the Bishops nearest to the province, and send arbiters; or, if it cannot be established that the matter needs reversal, then what has been decided is not to be rescinded, but the existing state of things is to be confirmed.

Besides this Canon 3, their Canon 4 provides that a Bishop, deposed by a local Synod and appealing to Rome, shall not have his See filled up till the Pope has confirmed the sentence; and their Canon 5 empowers the Pope either to commit the rehearing to the Bishops of the neighboring Province, or to send a legate of his own to rehear the cause. Now this Council of Sardica was held in the year 347, and yet these canons were never heard of until the year 419—*seventy-two years after, and then* the Pope tried to

palm them off as *Nicene*! Even if genuine, they died with Pope Julius, according to the rules of the Roman Canon Law concerning privilege: "If personal, it follows the person (not the office); and it dies with the person named in it." *Julius* is the person *named*, and no one else. Also, "it may not be extended to any other person, because of identity or similarity of reason, unless such *extension* be *expressly named* in it." There is no extension expressly named in the Canon, nor even the least hint of such a thing. Therefore the Canon died with Pope Julius, more than 1,500 years ago. But Dr. Littledale has something yet more damaging to say about these famous Canons:

No satisfactory evidence exists for the *authenticity* of these Canons, and there is much reason for suspecting them to be a sheer fabrication at Rome. For no hint of their existence occurs till they were falsely alleged in 419 as *Nicene* Canons by the Papal Legate at Carthage, while the African Bishops contented themselves with disproving that one fiction, but evidently knew nothing else whatever about them, not being able to assign them even to Sardica, obviously because they had never heard of them before; whereas the invariable rule of the time was to send the Acts and Canons of Synods of more than provincial character round to all the great Churches for approval; so that the Sardican Canons, if genuine at all, must have been known at Carthage, at any rate by 424, after attention there had been drawn to them five years previously, and a consequent search made, supposing no earlier information to have been accessible, as there *must have been*, since *Aratus of Carthage was at Sardica*, and would have brought back any Canons.

What is more, there is entire silence on this head in the Acts of Constantinople in 381, and of Chalcedon in 451, albeit both dealing with the question of appellate jurisdiction; nor does S. Athanasius refer to these Canons. And though S. Augus-

tine's silence may be explained away on the ground that he mixes up the Council of Sardica with the seceding Arian Synod of Philippopolis, no such excuse accounts for the equal silence of SS. Basil and Epiphanius, and of the three great ecclesiastical historians of the time, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, none of whom know of any Sardican document except the Synodical epistle. Seeing that the Canons, if genuine, altered for the West the system of appeals which had prevailed in the Church up to that time, based as it was on the rule of the civil code that all cases should be ended where they originated, their legal and historical importance is such that this unbroken silence is nearly unaccountable. Nor is any example known of their having been avowedly acted on anywhere in the West—precisely where the canons of the Council must have been known and in many provincial archives, whereas they are *cited* only in *Papal* missives to Churches whose Bishops were *not* at *Sardica*. And as their Nicene character was alleged for the *fourth* time so late as 484 by Felix II. in his dispute with Acacius of Constantinople, it is obvious that this persistence in one falsehood makes the presence of another more likely. No one at Rome could have honestly believed them to be Nicene, because they expressly name Pope *Julius*, who did not begin to sit till 337, *twelve years after the Council of Nice* (a few Latin MSS. have *Silvester* here, an obviously fraudulent correction). The policy of urging them as Canons of a great Council like Sardica, when it proved impossible to gain credit for them as Nicene, is so evident that its not being adopted prompts a suspicion that they were well known at Rome not to be decrees of any Council whatever, so that any strict inquiry must tend to the same result, and that being so, it was more politic to keep up the Nicene claim. No Greek text is known earlier than the sixth century, and a very suspicious circumstance marks the three oldest Latin texts, the *Prisca*, that of Dionysius Exiguus, and the true Isidore. These, as a rule, give independent and various translations of all Greek Canons, but *they agree verbally for the so-called Sardican Canons*. The inference is, that there was never a Greek original at all, but only a Latin forgery. If so, *the whole fabric of Papal appeals falls*, for it has no other basis. In-

deed, the non-Sardican origin of these Canons has been strongly asserted of late by a learned Italian theologian, Aloysius Vincenzi, in his treatise, *De Hebræorum et Christianorum Sacra Monarchia*, Vatican Press, 1875, who places them considerably later, and inclines to think them African.

The well-known case of Apiarius, an immoral African priest, who persuaded Pope Zosimus to back him up in an attempt to overrule the African decision against him, is thoroughly discussed by Dr. Littledale. It was in this contest that the Pope tried to pass off the so-called Sardican Canons as *Nicene*. The African Bishops at once challenged their authenticity, and sent special messengers all the way to Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and *all* the attested copies in these cities demonstrated the fraud of the Pope. They enacted a new Canon at once, forbidding all appeals beyond sea, or to any authority save African Councils and Primates, *under pain of ex-communication throughout Africa*. And, finally:

The Council sent a synodical letter to Pope Boniface by two legates, complaining of his conduct in reinstating Apiarius, disputing the genuineness of the Canons alleged by Faustinus (the Bishop whom the Pope had sent on this business), and telling the Pope in the plainest language that nothing should make them tolerate his conduct, or suffer such insolence (*typhum superbiæ*) at the hand of his emissaries—a protest virtually aimed at himself, who had commissioned and despatched them. One of the signatories of this epistle was *S. Augustine*.

Just think of S. Augustine—that great saint—signing a letter like this addressed to the Pope of Rome of his day! And very probably he was the *writer* of it as well.

But the Pope stuck to his miserable Apiarius, who had been a *second* time deposed for immorality. It was Celestine I. who undertook to rehabilitate him this time, and to send him back to Africa, with the same Bishop Faustinus, to obtain his reinstatement there. But his guilt was proved at the Council by his own confession, and his degradation confirmed :

Hereupon the Fathers wrote to Pope Celestine, telling him that they had ascertained that the alleged Nicene Canons were not of that Council at all ; that the Pope had transgressed the genuine Nicene Canons by interfering in another province ; and that they could find no authority for his undertaking to send legates to them or any other Churches, so that they begged him to refrain from doing so in future, for fear the Church should suffer through pride and ambition : and added that they were quite competent, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, to manage their own affairs on the spot, better than he, with less local knowledge, could do for them at Rome, ending by telling him that they had had quite enough of Faustinus, and wanted no more of him.

That was the outspoken and manly way in which the Church of North Africa resisted and repudiated the meddling of the Pope, when he first began to do business in that line. Would that *all* National Churches had had the courage to keep it up in the same strain !

The third General Council met at Ephesus only seven years later, in 431, and seems to give us a distinct echo of this African business in its Canon VIII., which enacts that no Bishop shall invade any province which was not from the beginning under his jurisdiction or that of his predecessors :

And if any should so occupy one, or forcibly subject it to himself, let him make personal restitution, lest the statutes of the Fathers should be violated, *and lest the pride of power should creep in under the pretext of a sacred office*, and thus we might unknowingly and gradually *lose that freedom* which JESUS CHRIST our LORD and SAVIOUR of all men obtained for us with His precious blood, and bestowed upon us.

The next General Council, of Chalcedon, in 451—only twenty years later—gives further and unanswerable proof of the same great contest. The *Tome* of Leo—after full and close examination—was accepted as the correct statement of the doctrinal issue then pending. But as to disciplinary authority, the celebrated Canon XXVIII. was the heaviest blow the rising Roman ambition had yet received :

The Fathers with good reason bestowed precedency on the chair of Old Rome, *because it was the imperial city*, and the 150 GOD-beloved Bishops [the Council of Constantinople], moved by the same view, conferred *equal precedence* on the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the city honored with the Empire and the Senate should enjoy *the same precedence* as Rome, the old seat of Empire, and should be magnified as it was in ecclesiastical matters also, being second after it.

To make this still stronger, the Canon went on to confer upon the Patriarch of Constantinople the right of ordaining all the Metropolitans of Asia, Pontus, Thrace, and the Bishops in barbarous regions—a larger domain of territory and population than then belonged to the Patriarchate of Rome. Now, when this Canon was first read, the Roman legates—the only members present from the West—rose and left the assembly. The next day, when they returned and

found that, without a word of objection from anybody, it had been *unanimously* adopted, they demanded another session for its abrogation, asserting that the bishops had been forced by imperial pressure into that unanimity, and producing a forged version of the sixth Canon of Nicæa, in which the words "The Roman See hath always had the primacy" had been interpolated. But they failed utterly. Their forged interpolation was immediately exposed. Their charge of imperial pressure was scouted. The Canon stood, and has stood ever since. The then Pope, Leo the Great, resisted this Canon always, and pretended to nullify it, *not* on the ground that it contradicted the privilege of Peter—mark that!—but only because it conferred upon Constantinople the *second* place, till then given to Alexandria, and interfered besides with the rights of many Metropolitans. But after long resistance, Rome herself has, in fact, swallowed her disappointment; and in the *three-fold* recognition of the General Councils, makes no exception of the XXVIII. Canon of Chalcedon. Every Pope professes that the acts of the General Councils are "with mouth and heart to be kept *unaltered in a single tittle*," that he will "account them worthy of equal honor and veneration," and will "follow, in every respect, whatsoever they promulgated or decreed, and condemn whatsoever they condemned." On this most important point, Dr. Littledale well says :

Either the Council, in holding that the Roman primacy is a mere human and ecclesiastical dignity, conferred by the Church, and not a Divine and inalienable privilege, was *wrong* on the point of fact, or it was *right*. If it was *wrong* (apart from the



objection that then the whole fabric of Conciliar authority falls, as no Council has ever been more authoritative than Chalcedon, or more definitely acknowledged by the Roman Church itself), then, since its *dogmatic* decrees are allowed to be the *standard of orthodoxy*, and yet as it must have *erred in dogma* if the Roman primacy be matter of *faith*, the conclusion is, that the said primacy is at best *not* matter of *dogmatic faith*, but only of *historical fact*; and so the Canon supplies proof that the Church of the fifth century did *not* hold the Papal claim to be of Divine origin or theological obligation. On the other hand, if the Council was right on the point of fact, there is nothing left to be said in favor of even the historical character of the alleged Petrine Privilege.

Dr. Littledale then tests the *principle* at issue, by looking at the position of the other great Sees. "If the allegation of the Council be true," he says, "that the civil position of Rome was the sole cause of its ecclesiastical primacy, then the same principle will be found to affect the precedence of other great Sees. On the other hand, if the Ultramontane contention be true, then the rival principle will be seen at work, and the Sees will be found to rank according to the dignity of their founders or the august character of their traditions." He then shows that Jerusalem, the Mother of all the Churches, when sunk into civil insignificance, was only a suffragan See of Cæsarea, and when afterwards elevated to a Patriarchate it was the last, and not the first, in rank, though founded by CHRIST Himself and the whole College of the Apostles. Then Alexandria—which was the second city in the Empire for size and importance—was not founded by any Apostle at all, but only by S. Mark the Evangelist. Yet it always outranked Antioch,

the third largest city in the Empire, though S. Paul had labored there, and S. Peter was said to have been Bishop there for seven years before he translated his Episcopal chair to Rome. Ephesus, though Apostolic, by at least two claims, through S. Paul and S. John, never rose to higher rank than that of ex-archate or primacy. If, therefore, the greatness of the Bishop of Rome is to be traced to the greatness of the founder of the See, it is in *contradiction* to the principle which prevailed everywhere else throughout all Christendom : just as, if we are to interpret the "rock" to mean S. Peter, we must *contradict* the invariable use of that word in all the rest of the Bible, old Testament as well as New. Dr. Littledale sums up the evidence :

Thus the evidence of Church history amply justifies the Fathers of Chalcedon, and proves that they were right in alleging that the political supremacy of Rome as the capital of the Empire, making it the natural centre of all business affairs, and the chief resort of travellers from all quarters, made it also the most convenient centre for that great missionary organisation, whose battle was emphatically fought in the large towns, as the now significant word 'pagan,' once meaning 'rustic' or 'villager,' teaches us. And down to the middle of the third century all the extant evidence shows that the primacy was held to reside in the *Church* of Rome, not in its *Bishop*, who derived his importance from the See, not *vice-versa*. S. Clement, for instance, writes to the Corinthians in the name of the Roman Church, not in his own.

But we must shorten sail, or we shall never get through this masterly and most interesting work. We have thus far touched upon only 100 pages out of more than 350. And the further we go, the keener is

the historical analysis, the more trenchant the criticism, the more unanswerable the refutation of Roman assumptions and deliberate frauds. The many doctrinal somersaults of Vigilius, and the palpable and notorious heresy of Honorius, are mercilessly shown up. Merely "local Italian Synods," not even professing to be œcumenical, are shown to have deposed Popes, and these depositions have always been counted valid. The acts of the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle are carefully stated, and at the two former, the deposition of existing Popes and the election of Alexander V. and Martin V. are regarded as valid. Dr. Littledale keenly says:

It is obvious that if the 'privilege of Peter,' as affirmed in the Vatican Council, be a Divinely revealed verity, and the Pope be in truth the Head of the Church, his inferiors could not possibly sit in judgment upon him, nor could the body, without committing suicide, *cut off its own head*. Therefore, if the attitude taken up by the Councils were heterodox and unjustifiable, we should find their nominees to the Papacy rejected as pretenders, schismatics and heretics, and their acts disallowed as null and void.

Precisely so in English history, the whole Parliamentary annals of England under the Commonwealth are now a legal blank, . . . and no Acts of Parliament nor decisions of the law-courts between 1641 and 1660 can be cited as of authority, or as having the smallest legal validity. But no such disavowal of Pisa and Constance exists in ecclesiastical history, and the claims of Alexander V. and Martin V. to be true Pontiffs and successors of S. Peter have never been disputed; albeit their title depends wholly on the validity of the deposition of their predecessors, which created the vacancies in their favor. Had there been any such collapse of the opposition at Pisa and Constance as that which left Eugenius IV. ultimately victor over the Council of Basle, we should have merely proof that modern

Ultramontaniam was not then universally received, but none that it was not in the right, and entitled to be so received ; but the triumph of Pisa and Constance over Papal resistance is *decisive of the controversy*, and refutes the Vatican decrees of 1870.

But, to our extreme regret, we must altogether omit from Chapter IV. to Chapter VII., inclusive, though a most interesting and important article might be made from them alone. All the strong points are brought out so clearly and forcibly, and the underlying *principles* are set forth with such terseness and clearness. One such point we must quote, however, before we pass on. In quoting facts from history, as bearing upon Papal claims, Dr. Littledale most justly says:

It is to be distinctly remembered, that any *negative* examples are *very much more* to the point than *positive* ones can be. This proposition may strike persons unfamiliar with the rules of evidence as being unfair, for they may naturally suppose that at least equal weight should be given to the facts which make in favor of Papal supremacy, and to those which make against it. That would be perfectly true *if* the claim made for the Popes were simply that in virtue of their office they held the most prominent position in the early Church, and often exercised a preponderating influence in ecclesiastical affairs. Occasional proofs of their being unable to secure their ends, or enforce their authority, would establish no more against this view than the failure of many English Acts of Parliament to effect their object, or to obtain popular recognition and obedience, establishes against the general proposition that England is habitually governed by laws enacted in and by Parliament. Yet, in truth, no dispute exists so far, and, were nothing further demanded on behalf of the Popes, the controversy would die out for want of materials. But the claim is that of an *original and indefeasible Divine right of direct sovereignty and jurisdiction*,

both in *matters of faith* and of *discipline*, exercised *from the first* by the Popes, and acknowledged by the whole Catholic Church. Every instance which makes against these pretensions is a flaw in the case, and is like a *gap in a pedigree* by which right of ownership to a title and estate is sought to be established. And if *several* such flaws and gaps be discoverable, they settle something further: for they not merely disprove the claim of special *privilege*, but make it impossible to sustain the Supremacy as a matter of *prescription*, and as having thus such ancient and universal consent on its side as to raise a strong presumption in favor of primitive Christendom having ranked it as a Church ordinance, equally with Infant Baptism and Sunday observance, for which no express Divine sanction is recorded. And any evidence which tends to show that the power of the Roman See did, in fact, become greater in the lapse of time, and gradually overpower resistance, at once helps to show its *purely human character*. For a *Divinely* bestowed authority is always strongest *at first*, growing weaker in popular regard as the memory of the original grant is weakened, which the instances of Moses and of the Apostles sufficiently prove; whereas a human authority, continually reinforced, often tends to grow, as the power of the French kings grew from Louis XI. to Louis XIV., and as the power of the House of Commons has grown in England, from the Restoration to the present day.

Remembering this idea of *gaps* or *flaws* in a *pedigree*, which is exactly the one we have to deal with, let us turn to the chapter that closes this remarkable book.

In the idea of transmitted authority, all are familiar with the maxim that no one can convey to another a power which he does not himself possess. In consecrations to the Episcopate, *each* of the three or more Consecrators possesses that episcopate which, unitedly, they give to the one upon whom they lay hands. Any *one* of the three *could* do it; but for abundant

security the Canons require *three at least*, so as to have a *three-fold* cord of *certainty*. There is, thus, the direct *touch of conveyance*, between those who have it and him to whom, by that act, they give it. This is the Divine plan, followed in the Apostolic Church from the beginning, and kept up in all parts of the Catholic Church to this day.

To show how it operates, take, for instance, the case of any priest ordained by Bishop Doane of Albany. He himself was consecrated by *five* other Bishops. And following back the consecrations of these five, and so on, up to the reception of our Episcopate from England, eighty years before, it will be found that *every* priest ordained by Bishop Doane represents, in his own person, no less than *sixty-eight* Bishops of our American Succession, besides the original English prelates from whom we derived it, and several others who have taken part in subsequent American consecrations. The true idea of the Apostolic Succession is thus, not a simple chain of *single links*, where the breaking of a single link anywhere destroys the continuity of the chain : but it is a *complete network*, from which any one strand would never be missed. The destruction of the Apostolic Succession is simply a moral impossibility.

The idea of the Papal succession is the very reverse of all this, and is an absurdity in itself. As a channel for the perpetuation of *transmitted* authority, it is an impossibility, for no Pope *ever* gives it to his *successor*. No two successive links of the Papal chain *ever* interpenetrate. Sometimes weeks, or months, or even years have intervened between the death of one

Pope and the election of his successor. And when the successor is chosen, from whence does he get his power as Pope? From his predecessor? No! His predecessor did not even *know* who should succeed him; never said a word to him about it; gave him no power, no symbol of investiture, no symptom even of anything. Does the new Pope then get the power from the Cardinals who elected him? No! for *they never had it*. Only the previous Pope had it, and he died without giving it to anybody. *Where then does the new Pope get it?* The links of the Papal chain of transmission, it is thus seen, *never interpenetrate*. They can never even get close enough to one another to touch on the outside! There is a *total solution of continuity* on the death of *every* Pope, and there is no possible way to help it!

But this is not all. The Papal theory is beset by radical difficulties of its own, which would wreck it completely without any comparison with a better system. We all understand what is meant by the possession of power *de facto*, and consider that sufficient in temporal affairs, even if it be not at the same time *de jure*. But "it is an axiom of Latin Theology and Canon Law that *unlawful* possession of the Papacy confers *no rights whatever*, and that all acts done by one who is Pope *de facto* without being also Pope *de jure*, are *null and void*." And "this nullity extends, of course, to the institution of all beneficiaries within the area of the quasi-Pope's domestic jurisdiction, and to the creations of Cardinals. That is to say, a false Pope may seriously affect the competency of the electoral body which will have to choose his successor." For



Cardinals "are not especially ordained, as Bishops and Priests are." These latter may be possessed of perfectly valid orders, and yet have no legal right to a particular benefice or See. But no Cardinal has any shadow of a claim to the red hat, or to be one of the electors of a Pope, unless the Pope who named *him* had *full powers*. And to make confusion worse confounded, "another maxim of Latin Theology is, that any *doubt* as to the rightful tenure of the Papal Chair by any claimant, is to be ruled *against* him, not for him, as is laid down expressly by Bellarmine, who says: 'A doubtful Pope is accounted *no* Pope.' This includes *all* cases of *disputed elections*, whenever there is not *full proof* of the valid election of the particular claimant who ultimately prevailed." And there were no less than *thirty-nine* anti-Popes before the Great Schism: a fact which proves, as Dr. Littledale well says, "that no Church is *so lacking* in the note of Unity as the local Roman Church. It has been the typical home of schism." And yet we are told that submission to the absolute despotism of Rome is the only thing that can preserve the unity of the Church!

But we have not yet reached the end. There are laid down for us, in the Roman Canon Law, *four* cases of *absolute nullity*, admitting of no dispute. They are these: (1) "Intrusion by some external influence, without any election by the constituency." (2) "Election by those only who are not qualified to elect." (3) "*Simony*." (4) "Antecedent personal ineligibility of certain definite kinds, such as bastardy." And, as if all this were not enough, there are cases of

"*highly probable nullity*," such as those of heresy, whether manifest *or secret*, and whether previous to, or after, election to the Papacy : and these are "highly probable only, and not absolute, because, while there is a *consensus* of theologians and canonists on the subject, there is no express decree of Canon Law to the same effect."

As we cannot give full attention to all these points, let us look for a moment to what is said of *Simony*.

Dr. Littledale gives a chain of authorities, from the Apostolic Canons down to Pope Julius II., including Canons of General Councils, *all agreeing* that simony is fatally destructive of Holy Orders. The Apostolic Canons declare that "if any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon obtain this rank by money, let him be deposed, and his ordainer also, and be altogether cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was by Peter." The General Council of Chalcedon ordains the same, and adds that "if any one act as go-between in such scandalous and illegal transactions, if he be a cleric, let him be degraded from his rank." A Roman Synod, under Gregory VII., declares that "All crimes are accounted as nothing in comparison with the simoniacal heresy. . . . Ordinations performed for money. . . . we decide to be null and void." Pope Leo IV. will not admit that even penitence can avail, but that the deposition of simoniacs is "perpetual and irreparable." And, lastly, Pope Julius II. in the Bull *Cum tam divino*, "pronounces all simoniacal elections to the Papacy void, and incapable of being validated by any recognition accorded to the Pope as chosen. And Gamarus, Auditor of the Rota, in his commentary on

this Bull, alleges it to be so worded as to be retrospective in effect, fully voiding all such former elections."

And now to the working of this principle. Omitting here all the numerous and more ancient cases, Dr. Littledale tells us that—

Innocent VIII. was simoniacally elected in 1484, and his next successor, the infamous Cardinal Roderic de Borgia, was elected in the conclave of 1492 by a majority of twenty-two out of the then twenty-seven Cardinals, whose votes had been purchased by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, as recorded by Von Eggs, the Roman Catholic historian of the Cardinals, in his *Pontificium Doctum* [p. 251] and *Purpura Docta*, in *Vita Card. Ascan. Sforzæ*, iii., 251. As Pope Alexander VI., Borgia *openly sold the Cardinalate* itself to the highest purchasers, so that both his own popedom and the membership of the Sacred College were *all void by reason of Simony*. But Julius II. was elected in 1503 in a conclave of thirty-seven Cardinals, of whom twenty-six, or rather over the two-thirds necessary for a valid choice, were of Alexander VI.'s invalid creation, while the same Cardinal Sforza is known to have managed that conclave also, in the same simoniacal fashion as the previous one. And Leo X. was elected in 1513, in a conclave consisting *entirely* of Cardinals created by either Alexander VI. or Julius II., *and therefore incompetent to elect*. And Leo repeated the crime of Alexander VI. in *selling the Cardinalate*; while, finally, Clement VII. was simoniacally elected in 1523.

The electoral body was thus *utterly vitiated* and disqualified by Canon Law, at least so far back as 1513, and *no conceivably valid election of a Pope has taken place since that of Sixtus IV., in 1471*, even if every defect prior to that date be condoned, and it be conceded that the breaches in the tenth, eleventh, and fifteenth centuries were made good *somehow*.

Dr. Littledale pushes home, with the utmost boldness, the full conclusions from the facts which he has thus demonstrated :

There has not been any retrospective action taken in regard to this final vitiation by Simony ; and to Alexander VI. belongs the responsibility of having made any assertion of unbroken and canonical devolution of a Petrine Privilege in the line of Roman Pontiffs *impossible for any honest canonist or historian* since his time. And, consequently, not only have the specific Divine privileges alleged to be attached to the person and office of the Roman Pontiff *all utterly failed*, but the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction appertaining to, or derived from, the See of Rome has *failed throughout the entire Latin obedience*. All acts done by the Popes themselves, or requiring Papal sanction for validity, since 1484 (just thirty-three years before the outbreak of the Lutheran revolt), have been *inherently null and void*, because emanating from *usurping and illicit Pontiffs*, every one of whom has been uncanonically intruded into the Papal chair by *simoniacal* or merely *titular* electors, having *no legal claim to vote at all*. Those orders and sacraments in the Latin Church which depend on the valid succession of the dispersive episcopate and priesthood may continue unimpaired, but all that is distinctively *Papal died out four centuries ago*, and continues now as a mere delusive phantom.

What can possibly be urged on the other side is thus unanswerably dealt with by our Author :

The defence set up on the Ultramontane side, against this proof that the Papacy has *ceased to exist* as a *de jure* institution, is that the mere fact of recognition and acceptance of an invalidly elected Pope by the Roman Church at large suffices to make good all defects, and to validate his position. But *this is in the teeth of all the legal facts*. For (1) there is no such provision to be found in the Canon Law, which could not omit so important a legal principle did it exist ; (2) no opportunity of expressing either assent or dissent is afforded to the dispersive Roman Church, seeing that the election in conclave is not conditional, but final, and the result is publicly signified at once, in words denoting that the new reign has begun ; (3) the absence of any schism, or any public challenge of the title of

any one of the thirteen intruded Popes between 903 and 963 [the Pornocracy], is legally equivalent to acceptance of them all by the dispersive Roman Church, but Baronius is most precise in denying their status ; and (4) there are Bulls of Julius II. and Paul IV. which *categorically contradict* this assertion, in that they enact that *no* recognition, homage, or obedience, shown to an invalidly elected Pope, shall avail to legitimate his status, when his disqualification has been either *simony* or heresy.

The transparent and impudent humbuggery of all this may be made plain by a suggestion which Dr. Littledale does not make. That same Julius II., who issued so tremendous a Bull against a simoniacal Pope, appears in the *table* of doubtful, intrusive, heretical, and simoniacal Popes, as owing his own seat as Pope to that very *simony* which he so valiantly denounces ! And what could be safer ? He, of course, knew that he was *suspected* of it. And the Bull would—to the world at large—vindicate him. And what harm could it do ? He, as Pope, had certainly no idea of unseating *himself*. And when the *briber* was so safe, there was little danger of the Cardinals, who were the *bribees*, making any real trouble about it. So that the Roman Cardinals, when that Bull was issued, must have found it as hard to keep their countenances sober, on meeting one another, as Cicero's heathen augurs.

Dr. Littledale says truly that—

The remarkable weakness of the line of Papal succession can be most clearly exhibited in a chronological table of the flaws in legitimate transmission of the Chair, which are precisely analogous to failures of proof of regular descent, or actual proofs of bastardy, in a family pedigree on which titles

and estates depend. . . . It is to be remembered that *intrusion* and *simony* are *absolute* disqualifications, heresy an almost equal one, and that all questions of doubt . . . are ruled *against* the claimant by Bellarmine's maxim, 'A doubtful Pope is counted no Pope.' All persons reckoned, whether justly or unjustly, as anti-Popes, are excluded from the table ; and merely legendary stories, such as that of Pope Marcellinus's apostasy, and rigidly technical objections, such as apply, for instance, to the orthodoxy of Nicolas I., and to the election of Gelasius II., are omitted also, so as to state the case for the prosecution as moderately as possible.

And with all this moderation the entire list contains the names of *sixty-five* Popes, of whom no less than *thirty* were guilty of simony or intrusion such as, by Papal law, would render their claim to be *valid* Popes utterly *null and void*. The *Table* ends with Clement VII., A.D. 1534, and only these words are added : "*No valid election has been possible since.*" The explanation of this is as follows :

The Electoral College of Cardinals was completely vitiated by *simony* under Alexander VI. ; and thus, even if it could be conceded that the Papacy was saved somehow through former irregular transmissions, or was validly reconstituted by the Council of Constance, there has been, by *Roman Canon Law*, no *de jure* Pope since 1484 at latest, consequently no *de jure* Cardinal created, and thus *no means exist*, on *Ultramontane* principles, for *restoring the Petrine succession*.

We are sorely tempted to touch on other salient points. The question of Honorius is vigorously handled by Dr. Littledale, but is so familiar to all by this time, that there is less lost in passing it by once more. The horrible *Pornocracy* at Rome is another deadly blot on Roman history, far worse than can be

found recorded of any other See in Christendom. Dr. Littledale thus outlines this dark and dismal period :

In 903, Christopher, a priest of the Roman Church, rose against Pope Leo V., a few weeks after his enthronement, threw him into prison, and intruded himself into the Papacy. He was in his turn overthrown and imprisoned by Sergius III., who intruded himself similarly, and whose character is painted in the blackest colors by the chroniclers of the time. It is at least certain that it was under his auspices that the infamous triad of courtesans, the two Theodoras and Marozia, obtained the influence which enabled them to dispose several times of the Papal crown. They, or Alberic of Spoleto, son of Marozia, nominated to the Papacy Anastasius III., Lando, John X., Leo VI., Stephen VII., John XI., Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Martin III., Agapetus II., and John XII., the last of whom, a mere boy at the time of his intrusion, was deposed for various atrocious crimes by a Synod convened by the Emperor Otto I., in 963. This whole series, as Baronius declares, consisted of false Pontiffs, having no right to their office, either by election or by subsequent assent of the electors, each of them eager to undo the acts of his predecessors, and choosing persons of the same evil stamp as themselves for the Cardinalate and other dignities.

And the language of Baronius himself—the champion Ultramontane historian of the Church—is far more emphatic than that of Dr. Littledale :

What was then the aspect of the Holy Roman Church ? How utterly foul, when harlots, at once most powerful and most vile, bore rule at Rome ; at whose will Sees were exchanged, Bishops appointed, and what is awful and horrible to hear, their paramours were intruded as pseudo-Popes into the See of Peter, who are not set down in the catalogue of the Roman Pontiffs except for the purpose of fixing the dates ! For who could assert that persons lawlessly intruded by such courtesans were legitimate Pontiffs ? There is no mention anywhere of the



clergy electing or subsequently assenting. All the canons were thrust down into silence, the decrees of Popes were strangled, the old traditions were banned, the ancient customs, the sacred rites, and the early usages in the election of the supreme Pontiff, were completely annulled. And what sort of cardinals, deacons, and priests do you suppose were chosen by these monsters?

Dr. Littledale, as a canonist, draws the following most serious conclusion from *the admitted* facts. It is that—

If any Petrine succession or privilege ever existed in the Roman Church, it was *extinguished irrecoverably* at the close of this period; for it extended over *sixty years*, during which *not one lawfully-elected* Pope ascended the Papal Chair. None of them could canonically appoint to any dignity or benefice in the Roman Church; many of them are known to have sold them. Consequently, it is certain that, at the close of the sixty years' anarchy, *not one single clerical elector in Rome was qualified to vote*, for *not one* could show a just title to his position; and the lay vote, even if it was given at all, was invalid by itself. The election of Leo VIII. or of Benedict V. (whichever be accounted the true Pope), in 963, was, therefore, void also; for even if conducted in due form, the clerical *voters* had *no status*. And as no act of indemnity was ever passed by any authority whatsoever—leaving out of account the very difficult problem of deciding what authority would have been competent for the purpose—the *defect* has been *incurable*. It is precisely analogous to a break of two generations of established bastardy in a pedigree by which it is sought to make good a claim to a peerage. Failing the production of some collateral heir (impossible in the case before us), there is no choice but to declare the family honors *extinct*. The Petrine line, *if ever a reality, ended in the tenth century*. The later Popes may just conceivably have been Bishops of Rome in some canonical sense for a few centuries longer, . . . but, if so, they had no more connection with the older

line than the Napoleonic dynasty has with the Carolingian emperors.

Another series of intruding Popes, who secured their places through simony, is found in the eleventh century, lasting *thirty-four* years—a very serious break. The “Babylonish captivity,” at Avignon, is another very grave break :

For the Roman contention is, that S. Peter, by his twenty-five years’ *residence* and death in Rome, and by that alone—as no documentary proof exists—transferred his primacy from Antioch to Rome, his ultimate *residence* being the sole *nexus* between the Universal Primacy and the local bishopric. They admit that he might have fixed it in any other Church ; but that by his final residence in Rome he established it forever there.

Accordingly, when the Popes went to Avignon, permanently resided there, and died and were buried there, they did in regard to Rome precisely what S. Peter is said to have done in regard to Antioch : they broke up the Roman succession, and created a new primacy at Avignon. For *residence* being an *essential condition* of the Episcopate, that condition failed utterly during the Avignon period, and its resumption could not rehabilitate the succession. The Popes living in Avignon could no more be considered Bishops of Rome than S. Peter living in Rome could be considered as still Bishop of Antioch. And Pope Benedict XIV. says : ‘ No one who is not Bishop of Rome can be styled successor of Peter, and for that reason the words of the Lord, ‘Feed my sheep,’ can never be applied to him. . . . Furthermore, by the Canons of all the Councils, from Nice I. to Trent, and from that to the Bull of Pius IV. . . . every Bishop, even of Patriarchal rank, is compelled to a *personal* residence, under pain of deprivation ; the Popes, therefore, as Bishops of Rome, and even as Patriarchs, fall under the universal law, and the See of Rome was *ipso facto* void during the Avignon Papacy.’

Besides all these gaps, there is the Great Schism,

when there were two, and sometimes three Popes, each excommunicating all the rest, and all their adherents—a woful time, that paved the way for the Reformation, and did more to destroy the *prestige* of the Papacy than all other causes put together. But this, together with much else, we must pass over here, commending the reader to search it all out in Dr. Littledale's book. Notwithstanding the self-imposed narrowness of scope in that book, it contains the sum and substance of the whole controversy in a nutshell, with a masterly point and brevity and clearness which are most refreshing. He appends a valuable "Note on the False Decretals"—forgeries of which we hear much said, but of which it is not easy to get a definite account such as is here given. This important *Note* thus closes :

So much will suffice to exhibit the general tone and object of the False Decretals, which revolutionized the polity of the Western Church, and which were formally embodied in the Canon Law (of which they had for centuries practically formed a large effective factor) in respect of all their legislative matter by Pope Gregory IX., under the editorship of S. Raymond de Pennaforte, in 1234. *They* are the *sole basis* and *justification* of those claims and exceptional powers asserted by the Roman Chair, which *culminated in the Vatican Decrees* of 1870.

We have dealt very largely in extracts from Dr. Littledale: and they are the best part of this article. Our only object is to point out the solid merit, the singular strength, depth and brilliance of his work, so as to induce all to read it for themselves. And, as our last extract, we will give his own summing-up of the whole work done in this admirable little volume on the *Petrine Claims*:

The points successively raised, and (it is submitted) *proved*, in the foregoing inquiry, are as follows :

I. That the claim to teach and rule the Church Universal, as of privilege, in virtue of a special inheritance from S. Peter, made on behalf of the Popes of Rome, does not satisfy *any one* of the *seven* conditions required by Roman Canon Law in all cases of privilege. For—

(a) No document constituting them such heirs, and annexing the privilege to the inheritance, is producible, or so much as *thought* to have *ever existed*.

(b) The document alleged as conferring this privilege upon S. Peter himself is *not certain* and *manifest* in wording for this purpose, but obscure and enigmatic ; so as to have been diversely interpreted from the earliest to the latest time since its promulgation.

(c) When strictly and literally construed, it contains *no express gift* of either teaching or ruling authority ; which accordingly cannot be legally read into it.

(d) It is *exclusively personal* in wording, and is therefore *limited to S. Peter singly*.

(e) It contains *no* clause contemplating or empowering its extension to *any other person* than S. Peter.

(f) The interpretation actually put upon it by Ultramon-  
tanes *denies*, *interferes with*, and *encroaches upon*, the rights and privileges of all other Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops of the Church Universal.

(g) It has been habitually exercised with *excess* and *abuse*, and has thus been *long since forfeited*, assuming that it ever existed.

II. Holy Scripture, construed as a legal document tendered in evidence of the Petrine Claims, not only fails to corroborate, but *directly contradicts*, them.

III. The Liturgies, as evidence of the mind of whole Churches, and remounting to remote antiquity, recognize no supreme authority as vesting in S. Peter himself, not to say any persons claiming to inherit from him.

IV. The great majority of the eminent Fathers of the Church interpret the three great Petrine texts, in S. Matthēw xvi., S.

Luke xxii., and S. John xxi., in a sense contrary to the Ultramontane gloss; and thus make that gloss untenable by Roman Catholics, who are bound to interpret Scripture *only* 'according to the *unanimous* consent of the Fathers.'

V. The Canons and Decrees of the undisputed General Councils of the Church, and those of a large number of provincial and other local councils, down to the middle of the fifteenth century, are wholly incompatible with any belief in the Petrine Claims having been currently received throughout the Church.

VI. The Acts (as distinguished from the formulated decrees) of the Councils, those of many Popes and of many eminent Fathers, are incapable of being reconciled with the Petrine Claims.

VII. No trustworthy or even probable evidence is adducible for the fact that S. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome.

VIII. Not only is the case for a Petrine Privilege destroyed, but the breaks in the chain of prescription are so numerous and serious as to make it impossible to establish the Petrine Claims on that basis.

IX. Even if there ever had been a Petrine succession, with devolution of the Petrine Privilege, in the See of Rome, it has been entirely annulled and voided by demonstrable and incurable flaws, so that *no valid Pope* has sat *for more than four centuries*, or *can be secured in the future* by any now existing machinery in the Church of Rome.

And now, what will our Roman friends do about this pungent book? It is simply unanswerable, and the wise among them know it. Hence the common saying among them, that to appeal to History is Heresy. With them, the "voice of the living Church"—that is to say, the latest novelty issued by the Pope of Rome—is the sole fountain of truth. If History does not agree with *that*, then so much the worse for *History*! If they would take our advice—which they

are not likely to do—we should advise them to let it alone. It is the advice we should give to any dog who should meet a porcupine. The dog generally takes the other way. He barks furiously all around the porcupine—which does not hurt the porcupine in the slightest. But every attempt to *bite* the porcupine is sure to hurt the *dog*! We shall wait and see. Meanwhile, we rejoice that the great Society for Promoting Christian knowledge has placed this admirable book upon its permanent list of standard publications, and long may it there remain!





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